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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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# Modern Language Notes

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## JAMES FENIMORE COOPER AND THE BREAD AND CHEESE CLUB

The chief significance of the Bread and Cheese Club to the American literary historian is the light which it throws upon the spirit of New York letters from 1807 to 1830. When Washington Irving and James K. Paulding wrote in the first number of *Salmagundi*<sup>1</sup> that they were "laughing philosophers, and clearly of opinion that wisdom, true wisdom, is a plump, jolly dame, who sits in her arm-chair" and "laughs right merrily at the farce of life," they happily summed up the spirit that was to be the life and breath of Knickerbocker literature for the next twenty years. In such a spirit were written Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York* (1809), Paulding's *Lay of the Scottish Fiddle* (1813), Drake's and Halleck's *Croakers* (1819), and Halleck's *Fanny* (1819). On every hand, the New Yorker of that day seems to have indulged freely his love of burlesque, in which he included even himself as a fitting subject for merriment.<sup>2</sup> From this habit of mind, for example, sprang the "Ugly Club," founded in 1815 by a group of city dandies, some of a literary turn of mind, but all socially inclined, who for a time mystified the town with enigmatic contributions to the *Columbian*.<sup>3</sup>

By 1824, however, changes had come to the Knickerbocker school. Irving in 1815 had taken up his residence in Europe, and Drake had died in 1820. But James Fenimore Cooper was now to step

<sup>1</sup> January 24, 1807.

<sup>2</sup> For a Philadelphia comment on New York's habit of self-burlesque, see the *Literary Gazette*, I, 209 (April 7, 1821).

<sup>3</sup> For an account of this club, see the present writer's *Fitz-Greene Halleck, An Early Knickerbocker Poet and Wit* (New Haven, 1930), 33-37.

in and give a renewed vitality to the social life of the group. A bluff, hearty fellow, hailing originally from the wilds of Otsego County, Cooper had come to New York in 1822 in pursuit of literary fame. Once in the metropolis, he began fraternizing with literary men. His novel *The Spy* had just been published by Wiley & Halstead; and the young author, as he made his visits to the bookstore of the firm, frequently met the leading authors of the day. In fact, Mr. Charles Wiley, the senior partner, had set aside a room of the store where his literary friends might the better enjoy themselves. Over the group who met in "The Literary Den," so christened by the members, Cooper seems to have presided.<sup>4</sup>

It was probably the success of these impromptu meetings that suggested to Cooper the founding in 1824 of the Bread and Cheese Lunch. It was of a spirit of burlesque and ingenuous fun-making that "The Lunch" was born. The aim of the organization was admittedly social, having as its objectives conversation and eating.<sup>5</sup> What should have suggested the droll introduction of the Bread and Cheese it would be difficult to say; but in time they became the unmistakable insignia of the club. It was by their aid that the voting was carried on. "If a name," we are told, "was proposed for admission to membership, and any cheese was found on the plates, when the candidate was voted for, he was rejected."<sup>6</sup> Dr. John W. Francis, an early member of the club, states that "the bread declared an affirmative; and two ballots of cheese against an individual proclaimed non-admittance."<sup>7</sup> That the Bread and Cheese became in time the distinguishing mark of the club may be judged from an incident related by Cooper's daughter, Susan. In a procession forming part of the celebration at the opening of the Erie Canal, a carriage containing gentlemen of the club passed by Cooper's house displaying their canes to which were attached "slices of bread and cheese."<sup>8</sup> We are likewise told by Cooper's

<sup>4</sup> James G. Wilson, *Bryant and His Friends* (New York, 1886), p. 190; and J. C. Derby, *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books and Publishers* (New York, 1886), p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> See Susan Augusta Cooper's account of the club in the *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper* (New Haven, 1922), I, 49-50.

<sup>6</sup> J. C. Derby, *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books and Publishers*, p. 294.

<sup>7</sup> *Memorial of James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1852), p. 94. The good Doctor in *Old New York* (New York, 1865), p. 291, states that only one piece of cheese was enough to blackball a candidate.

<sup>8</sup> *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, I, 58.

daughter that at each meeting one of the members acted as host or "caterer," and that when Cooper himself assumed the office he always "wore a gilt key at his buttonhole";<sup>9</sup> but on the meaning of the key Susan Augusta is silent.

"The Lunch" at first met every Thursday evening during the winter season, but later changed the day of gathering to Tuesday.<sup>10</sup> For two years the club held its meetings at the restaurant of Abigail Jones, a popular colored cook of the city, whose establishment was located at 300 Broadway.<sup>11</sup> The club then seems for a short time to have met at the City Hotel, and for the remainder of its existence at Washington Hall.<sup>12</sup> The regular meetings of the organization

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 50.

<sup>10</sup> Most commentators on the club agree that the meetings were held each week. See, for example, Dr. Francis in the *Memorial of James Fenimore Cooper*, p. 94. Dr. Francis, however, in *Old New York* (1865), p. 291, says that the club met "every fortnight." It is probable that before Cooper's departure for Europe in June, 1826, the meetings were held each week. Two consecutive advertisements of meetings were published in the *New York American* for April 13 and 20, 1826. With Cooper's departure, however, the club altered some of its routine, and it may be that they changed from weekly to fortnightly meetings. In any case, we know that in November, 1826, the day of meeting was changed from Thursday to Tuesday. See *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, I, 107.

<sup>11</sup> See Susan Augusta Cooper's account of the club (*ibid.*, I, 50). Several advertisements of club meetings appearing in the *New York American* from November 3, 1825, to April 13, 1826, give 300 Broadway as the place of meeting, the last mentioning the name, "Abigail Jones." *Longworth's . . . City Directory* for 1824-25 and 1825-26 gives the address of Abigail Jones ("pastry-cook") as 300 Broadway. The directories for the two succeeding years indicate her removal from this address; and after 1828 her name disappears from the directory entirely. There is also evidence that during this period the club at times had other places of meeting. An advertisement in the *American* for October 24, 1825, gives the gathering place as Wiley's bookstore, and the time as one o'clock. This was probably a meeting called to transact some special business.

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Francis and William C. Bryant mention Washington Hall as the meeting place, saying nothing of the earlier meetings at Abigail Jones' establishment. Mary Phillips (*James Fenimore Cooper*, New York, 1913, p. 95) speaks of the founding of the club at the City Hotel. Of the meetings actually held at the City Hotel we know of but one—the farewell dinner tendered Cooper in May, 1826, when he was about to sail for Europe. Apparently during the last two years of the club's existence, the meetings were held at Washington Hall (282 Broadway). See the advertisement of the club meeting in the *American* or the *Post* for September 29, 1827.

were at times varied by what was called a "High" or "Grand Lunch."<sup>13</sup> It was probably to these special meetings that the distinguished guests who so often graced the club, were invited.

The membership of the club included men from various professions; but all united in acknowledging the social supremacy of Cooper, their founder and "Constitution." There was young William Cullen Bryant, who in 1825 had come to the city as editor of the *New York Review*, and was soon to become assistant to William Coleman on the *Post*. Bryant later confessed to "being somewhat startled, coming as I did from the seclusion of a country life, with a certain emphatic frankness in his [Cooper's] manner, which, however, I came at last to like and to admire."<sup>14</sup> There was also the poet and wit, Fitz-Greene Halleck, who became a life-long friend and admirer of Cooper; and Robert C. Sands, who in 1818 had written with a friend the Indian poem *Yamoyden*;<sup>15</sup> who tried law as a profession for a time; but who finally drifted into journalism, and died at the age of thirty-three. And there was Sands' friend, dear old Anthony Bleecker, "one of the companions of Washington Irving."<sup>16</sup> Bleecker, who sometimes wrote for the magazines, was an inveterate punster of whom a young lady once wrote to a friend "that she had gone into the country to take refuge from Anthony Bleeker's [sic] puns."<sup>17</sup> To the great sorrow of the whole club, Bleecker died in 1827.<sup>18</sup> "Were you not very much shocked to hear of poor Bleecker's death?" wrote a member to Cooper, then abroad. ". . . I have never known a man more regretted by his circle of acquaintance . . . He possessed a good heart and most happy temper, which had endeared him to all his friends, and at our meetings where we used to see both dis-

<sup>13</sup> See the advertisements of club meetings in the *American* for April 20 and November 7, 1826.

<sup>14</sup> *Memorial of James Fenimore Cooper*, p. 50.

<sup>15</sup> Published in 1820.

<sup>16</sup> A portion of Sands' toast to "The memory of Anthony Bleecker" at the dinner tendered Irving on his return to the United States in 1832. See the *New York Evening Post*, June 2, 1832.

<sup>17</sup> See Bryant's "Reminiscences of Miss Sedgwick" in the *Life and Letters of Catherine M. Sedgwick* (New York, 1871), p. 441.

<sup>18</sup> "The Members of the Lunch are particularly requested to attend the funeral of their late lamented friend and associate, Anthony Bleecker, Esq." Advertisement in the *American* for March 14, 1827.

played continually, we miss him very much."<sup>19</sup> To the club also belonged another of Irving's companions, Henry Brevoort, who in a letter speaks of Cooper's stubborn insistence on certain niceties of the French tongue, to the great amusement of Charles King and others of the club who were well acquainted with the language. Brevoort wonders whether Cooper, then in France, finds that the French are speaking their language correctly.<sup>20</sup> Charles King, who was at this time editor of the *New York American*, became in 1848 president of Columbia College. Nor should we fail to mention Gulian C. Verplanck, King's associate for a time on the *American*—a lawyer of distinction and a lover of the arts and letters. Still other members were Nathaniel Carter, a newspaper editor and the author of a poem "The Pains of the Imagination"<sup>21</sup> and Dr. John W. Francis, the eminent physician, who knew all the prominent New Yorkers of his day, and whose *Old New York*<sup>22</sup> is a treasure house of reminiscence and commentary on the city of a hundred years ago. On the club roster were also the names of James De Kay, the distinguished doctor and naturalist, who ten years before had brought together Drake and Halleck; of William and John Duer, both lawyers of distinction; of John Wesley Jarvis, the portrait painter; of Professor James Renwick, the scientist; of Charles A. Davis, the merchant, who later wrote *The Letters Jack Downing*; of Charles Wiley, the publisher. Dr. Francis states that "the meetings of the Club (or Lunch) were often swelled to quite a formidable assembly by members of Congress, senators, and representatives."<sup>23</sup>

Probably the most important meeting in the annals of the

<sup>19</sup> Letter of Jacob Harvey to Cooper, dated May 14, 1827. See *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, I, 132-3. Quoted by permission of Mr. James Fenimore Cooper of Cooperstown, New York.

<sup>20</sup> Letter to Irving, dated January 1, 1827. See *Letters of Henry Brevoort to Washington Irving* (New York, 1916), I, 160-1.

<sup>21</sup> See E. A. and G. L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York, 1855), II, 100; and J. W. Francis, "Reminiscences of Printers, Authors, and Booksellers in New York" in the *International Magazine*, v, 256 (February, 1852).

<sup>22</sup> First published in 1857 under the title *New York During the Last Half Century*. In 1858 it was revised and enlarged as *Old New York*; and in 1865 reedited with a preface by Henry T. Tuckerman.

<sup>23</sup> *Old New York* (1865), p. 292.

"Lunch" was that held on May 29, 1826, in honor of Cooper, who was about to sail for Europe.<sup>24</sup> "The members," said the *New York American*<sup>25</sup> in commenting on the affair, "assembled in unwonted numbers, yesterday afternoon at 5 o'clock, at the City Hotel, to testify their regard for their founder and distinguished associate. The Chair was taken very punctually by Chancellor Kent,<sup>26</sup> as Caterer of the day. . . . The dinner and wines were admirable, and the spirits of the party were in keeping with them." "The cloth being removed," Charles King now addressed the Caterer of the evening in a speech of florid eloquence in which he praised Cooper and the use he had made in his novels of American history and scenery. After a toast had been drunk in Cooper's honor, the novelist rose and addressed the club:<sup>27</sup>

I have been termed the Founder of this Club. I feel certain, Sir, that I may appeal with confidence to the distinguished strangers who have this day, favored us with their company, to know if there is reason to be ashamed of my work! It is not a little to have been the instrument of collecting from the materials of general society, such a mass of intelligence and reputation as is here assembled, and to have brought it, in this manner together, in free, social, unpretending, pleasurable, and I may add profitable communion. It is one of the acts of my life, Sir, in which I take great pride. I leave you prosperous and harmonious as an association, and I sincerely pray, that when the period allotted for my absence shall have passed, that I may be permitted to return, to find each individual among you filling his place at our board, as respectable as happy, and as well disposed toward his associates, as when I left him.

Later in the evening, Anthony Bleecker, secretary of the organization, had ample opportunity to indulge his love of punning. With mock solemnity Bleecker thus addressed the members of the Lunch:

To the sincere regret which I, in common with every member of the society, feel at the approaching departure of the worthy founder of our

---

<sup>24</sup> In the *New York Evening Post* for May 26, 1826, the committee in charge published a notice of the dinner to be given "to their distinguished associate Mr. Cooper."

<sup>25</sup> A very full account of the affair appeared in Charles King's paper for May 30, 1826. The quotations in this article having reference to the dinner have been taken from this account. A very brief notice of the event also appeared in the *Times* for June 1, 1826.

<sup>26</sup> James Kent (1763-1847), a noted New York jurist.

<sup>27</sup> Cooper's opening and concluding remarks, which are of less interest, have been omitted.

institution, is added an anxiety and concern which I am unable to suppress, even on this festive occasion. The office which I have had so long the honour to hold and to exercise, renders me peculiarly susceptible of this regret. As your secretary, gentlemen, it is to be presumed that I am more extensively acquainted with the state and condition of your records and laws than any other member; and, consequently, that it is my peculiar duty to apprise you of every incident and occurrence tending in the remotest degree to the loss or diminution of either. . . .

Neither our constitution nor our laws have ever been embodied, except in the body of our founder, and nobody, I am confident you will admit, has ever guarded them with a more vigilant eye, or expounded them with more wisdom and spirit. Like Ophelia in the play, he might say of our constitution, "'tis in my memory locked, and I myself do keep the key of it." Gentlemen, we are about to lose our best of keys,—a key of more importance than the one that now glitters on the breast of our caterer, and I fear we shall ere long have occasion to repeat the pun of the eloquent Burke, when, finding his bookcase locked up and the key gone, he facetiously exclaimed, "Oh here is another Locke on Human Understanding." . . .

But it is my heart felt wish that he may soon return. He is going to leave us; may the ship that bears him and the star by which he sails, be ever fortunate. May the pilot of his bark be as meritorious and as successful as his own. He is going to the land of *espionage*, but may he meet there no Spy but the one of his own creation. May Fame Pioneer him to the good city of Lyons, where his Lionel has already made him known, and may the "Last of the Mohicans" last to the latest generation.

During the course of the evening a motion was made by Cooper, and unanimously carried, that Washington Irving and Washington Allston, both then in Europe, should be made honorary members of the Lunch.

After Cooper arrived in Europe, he sent frequent letters to the club,<sup>28</sup> but unfortunately none of them has come to light. Their loss, however, is in part compensated by the preservation of a facetious missive, in mock official style, sent by the club to Cooper while he was in Paris in November, 1826. It begins:

To

"J" the Constitution of the "Bread and Cheese."

We your dutiful and affectionate Commissioners, most graciously nominated, appointed, authorized, and enjoined by our dear and ever venerated *Constitution*, to convoke and convene the Great Diet of the Bread

<sup>28</sup> See Mary E. Phillips, *James Fenimore Cooper*, p. 96; and the *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, I, 132.

and Cheese Lunch, deem it our bounden duty promptly to communicate to Your Patriarchal Highness, an account of the measures and proceedings touching our momentous charge.<sup>29</sup>

After mentioning at some length the first meeting of the season, which was held on October fifth, the letter continues in the same serio-comic vein:

At the fourth subsequent meeting, the arrival of the Commission being announced, it was instantly resolved, that a High Lunch be held the succeeding week, for the especial purpose of opening the Commission in due form:—

This was promptly carried into effect, and at the appointed hour twenty seven members were seen to surround the stately Loaf that sublimely surmounted the majestic Cheese, while six decanters of Madeira poured forth a rich and joyous libation to our ever honored *Constitution*.<sup>30</sup>

In the course of the letter allusion is humorously made to the attention bestowed on Cooper by the royalty of France.

Having heard, Sire, of the distinguished attention paid to you by His Christian Majesty, as soon as he knew that the Father of the Lunch had arrived in his dominions, We intend very shortly to give his Majesty an expression of our gratitude for his goodness in this particular, by electing him an honorary member of the Lunch. Be pleased, Sire, when you next dine with his Majesty to apprise him of the intended compliment.

But the club, with the absence of Cooper in France, felt keenly the loss of its founder's vigorous personality. General James Grant Wilson was of opinion that the Lunch continued as an organization for about fifteen years.<sup>31</sup> But there is no evidence to support such a statement. During the next three years it is probable that the members rallied with less and less enthusiasm to the support of the Bread and Cheese. The last recovered advertisement of a club meeting appeared in the *American* for November 28, 1828. Cooper himself in a letter written to a member in May, 1829, speaks as if he had heard nothing of the Lunch for a long time.<sup>32</sup> Wilson has preserved in his life of Halleck an invitation dated April, 1831, which is addressed to the poet, and informs him of the

<sup>29</sup> *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, I, 105-6. Permission to reprint passages from this letter has been granted by Mr. James Fenimore Cooper of Cooperstown, New York.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 106-7.

<sup>31</sup> *Life and Letters of Fitz-Greene Halleck* (New York, 1869), p. 401.

<sup>32</sup> *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, I, 166.

next meeting of the club.<sup>33</sup> But this is the last extant reference to the organization bearing a date; and we are forced to assume that after 1831 its death was speedy.

Even, however, with the dominating personality of its founder, the club could hardly have maintained a longer existence. Age was in fact gradually creeping upon this early Knickerbocker school, and the droll extravagances of youth were yielding to the staid proprieties of manhood. Drake had never lived to enjoy the Lunch. Halleck had by 1830 written his best poems, and was slipping into a persistent, though charming, conservatism. Irving, now for many years abroad, had lost his youthful exuberance, and was turning to biography. And Cooper himself was soon to become too absorbed in controversy to think of the Bread and Cheese. The respectability of the thirties and forties countenanced only such organizations as the "Sketch Club" and the "Book Club," which admitted of few frivolities. American literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was primarily the literature of New England; and in the fourth decade of the next century New England was to resume her intellectual and literary sway. But for a brief interval from 1807 to 1830 New York reigned supreme. And the Bread and Cheese Lunch thus stands as a happy symbol of all that was youthful and buoyant in this school—of the spirit in literature of hearty good fellowship which made New York during these years the literary center of America.

NELSON F. ADKINS

*Washington Square College, New York University*

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#### FOR A CRITIQUE OF WHITMAN'S TRANSCENDENTALISM

When *Leaves of Grass* first appeared in 1855 the September number of *Putnam's Monthly* reviewed the new book from a point of view which has been made significant by the critical tradition since grown up about Whitman's work. In one sentence it said:

A fireman or omnibus driver, who had intelligence enough to absorb the speculations of that school of thought which culminated at Boston some

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<sup>33</sup> *Life and Letters of Fitz-Greene Halleck*, p. 401.

fifteen or eighteen years ago, and resources of expression to put them forth again in a form of his own, with sufficient self-conceit and contempt for public taste to affront all usual propriety of diction, might have written this gross yet elevated, this superficial yet profound, this preposterous yet somehow fascinating book.<sup>1</sup>

The continuation of this assumption (made reasonable by certain similarities of phrasing and ideas) that Whitman was definitely of the Transcendentalists or that his poems mark a revival of New England Transcendental thought, modified in its expression by the influence of a rough and more crudely democratic environment, makes it now apropos to examine somewhat carefully its fundamental implications with the view of criticizing its accuracy.

The Transcendentalism which flourished in America during Whitman's youth was a didactic movement based on an acceptance of certain values, knowledge of which was gained by an intense emotional experience that transcended the ordinary or practical experiences of life.<sup>2</sup> As such there was little to distinguish it from innumerable other revolts against purely materialistic inclinations, but the movement in New England was particularized by the tendency on the part of its leader to describe this experience as an illumination resulting from a sense of a union of the individual soul with the over-soul.

The leader who gave character and definition to the New England Transcendental movement was Ralph Waldo Emerson, and in *Nature*, his first published work, he described the experience through which he (in common with others, as he indicates in "The Over-Soul") gained a new conception of life:

Standing on the bare ground,—my head bathed by the blithe air and uplifted into infinite space,—all mean egotism vanishes. I become a transparent eyeball; I am nothing; I see all; the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or parcel of God. The name of the nearest friend sounds then foreign or accidental: to be brothers, to be acquaintances, master or servant, is then a trifle or a disturbance. I am the lover of uncontained and immortal beauty. In the wilderness, I

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<sup>1</sup> Re-quoted from Bliss Perry's *Walt Whitman* (Boston and N. Y., 1906), 103.

<sup>2</sup> This generalization is not applicable, of course, to all who participated in the movement. There were many superficial converts, but an almost ecstatic personal experience on the part of some seems to have been its vitalizing core.

find something more dear and connate than in the streets or villages. In the tranquil landscape, and especially in the distant line of the horizon, man beholds somewhat as beautiful as his own nature.<sup>3</sup>

This experience of receiving the currents of Universal Being is elsewhere spoken of as the "influx of the Divine mind into our mind," but most commonly as the union of the individual soul with the Over-Soul. It was a purely spiritual experience in which the physical man was as nothing, and, with Emerson, the Transcendentalists in general were engaged in an escape from the demands of the body to those of the spirit. In the spirit, they taught, man is a vast brotherhood, and through the spirit the individual is limitless in his potentialities. It was this message which gave Transcendentalism its semi-religious contact with the world.

Whitman, too, had a similar message of limitless potentiality for the individual, and furthermore he records an experience similar to that of Emerson, in which he attains to a larger individuality through a trance-like ecstasy caused by the union of two elements of his self in the formation of the ultimate "identity" that brought with it wider knowledge and a recognition of the essential brotherhood of man:

I believe in you my soul, the other I am must not abase itself to you,  
And you must not be abased to the other.

Loafe with me on the grass, loose the stop from your throat,  
Not words, not music or rhyme I want, not custom or lecture, not even  
the best,

Only the lull I like, the hum of your valved voice.

I mind how once we lay such a transparent summer morning,  
How you settled your head athwart my hips and gently turn'd over upon me,  
And parted the shirt from my bosom-bone, and plunged your tongue to my  
bare-strip'd heart,

And reach'd till you felt my beard, and reach'd till you held my feet.

Swiftly arose and spread around me the peace and knowledge that pass all  
the arguments of the earth,

And I know that the hand of God is the promise of my own,  
And I know that the spirit of God is the brother of my own,  
And that all the men ever born are also my brothers, and the women my  
sisters and lovers,

And that a kelson of the creation is love.

And limitless are leaves stiff or drooping in the fields,  
And brown ants in the little wells beneath them,

<sup>3</sup> *Works* (Centenary edition), I, 10.

And mossy scabs of the worm fence, heap'd stones, elder, mullein and poke-weed.<sup>4</sup>

Read under the influence of the tradition of thought brought into prominence by the New England movement, this passage appears to exhibit the very essence of Transcendentalism. Here, under the influence of external nature, is the union of the soul with another "I am," bringing with it an ecstatic consciousness of the universe, limitless self-confidence, recognition of the common dignity of man (a recognition implicit in the evangelical characteristics of Transcendentalism), and the serene tranquillity of "I know."

Richard M. Bucke, Whitman's friend, and fervent admirer, regarded this passage as the most significant in *Leaves of Grass*, for in it he saw an account of Whitman's acquisition of the "cosmic consciousness" which characterized Dante, Balzac, and such religious leaders as Gautama, Jesus, Paul and Mohammed.<sup>5</sup> This faculty he defined as "a new consciousness superadded to the old," which came from spiritual illumination. The new consciousness (the "soul" in the lines quoted) was supposed by Bucke to have flowed into the individual consciousness ("the other I am") producing the effect described. Although Bucke's pseudo-scientific discussion of the whole matter is not in itself impressive, yet his interpretation is interesting in that he found it a description of an experience remarkably like that described by the Transcendentalist Emerson—the communion of the individual soul with the infinite. And it is significant in that his is the same interpretation advanced by a majority of the commentators on Whitman's thought.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Sec. 5, "Song of Myself"; *Leaves of Grass* (Inclusive edition), 27-28. This is the culminating experience of the loafing and inviting his soul to which Whitman refers in the opening lines of this poem.

<sup>5</sup> "Walt Whitman and the Cosmic Sense," *In Re Walt Whitman*, 329 ff. Cf. his further discussion in the chapter on Whitman in his *Cosmic Consciousness*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., for example, George R. Carpenter, *Walt Whitman* (*English Men of Letters* series), 52 ff.; Carleton Noyes, *An Approach to Walt Whitman* (Boston and New York, 1910), 139-40; H. B. Binns, *A Life of Walt Whitman* (London, 1905), 72-73, and elsewhere in this chapter dealing with Whitman's "illumination." As a rule, the critics here cited as representative discuss the lines in question in language much more suggestive of New England Transcendentalism than does Bucke. Neither Bliss Perry nor Emory Holloway analyzes this passage, though the latter

There is, however, one striking dissimilarity between Whitman's experience and that of the Transcendentalist: neither element of the former's enlarged, emotionally realized self was to abase itself before the other, while for the latter the ultimate realization of man came from the complete obedience of the individual to the dictates of the over-soul. This difference has been noted and explained by saying that Whitman affirmed the simultaneous and harmonious development of the individual personality and the cosmic relationship, an affirmation which is certainly widely prevalent in his poetry.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, when the fifth section of the "Song of Myself" is read in the atmosphere created by Whitman's own poetry rather than the light of Transcendental philosophy, this dissimilarity suggests another interpretation of the opening lines.

Running through Whitman's poetry is the constantly iterated idea of equalitarianism, one aspect of which is the avowal of equality between body and soul. This found recurring expression in the "Song of Myself," and was summed up toward the end of the poem:

I have said that the soul is not more than the body,  
And I have said that the body is not more than the soul,  
And nothing, not God, is greater to one than one's self is.<sup>8</sup>

In view of the importance suggested by the frequent and emphatic appearance of this idea, the question arises whether "the other I am" of which the poet speaks is not the actual physical body, whose proper union with the soul (ecstatically realized in the case of Whitman) creates in man that limitless self the recognition of which was the essential message borne by *Leaves of Grass* to the world. An affirmative answer to this question would place Whitman far from the New England Transcendentalists, who affirm the loss of the material in the ideal in direct contrast to the idea of merging the two on equal terms in the formation of a supreme, self-reliant self or identity.

A fairly definite interpretation of the key passage has been made possible by the recent publication of some new Whitman manu-

quotes it in connection with Whitman's spiritual kinship to Emerson [*Whitman, An Interpretation in Narrative* (New York and London, 1926), 104-8].

<sup>7</sup> Binns, *op. cit.*, 74.

<sup>8</sup> Sec. 48; *Leaves of Grass*, 73.

scripts. In one interesting note the poet sums up his conception of identity:

There are in things two elements fused though antagonistic. One is that bodily element which has in itself the quality of corruption and decease; the other is the element, the Soul, which goes on, I think, in unknown ways, enduring forever and ever.

Apparently feeling, however, that his conception was not clear, he added a further explanatory memorandum:

The analogy holds in this way—that the Soul of the Universe is the Male and genital master and the impregnating and animating spirit—Physical matter is the Female and Mother and waits barren and bloomless, the jets of life from the masculine vigor, the undermost first cause of all that is not what death is.<sup>9</sup>

Here it seems that Whitman is giving explicit expression to the two elements the fusion of which in his own self he describes in symbolic terms in the fifth section of the "Song of Myself." There is the same sexual imagery and the same idea of a union of the two "I am's" to form an identity which is reality—a union of material and ideal, not two ideals.

These fragments are not dated, but it is not important whether he was trying to express or re-express the idea. Such an experience as he describes could not have been an everyday occurrence, and apparently he was often trying to reproduce it. "The Body merged in the soul and the soul merged in the Body I seek," he wrote in the lost introduction to *Leaves of Grass* in 1864.<sup>10</sup> It is sufficient that he expressed his conception in prose with sufficient clarity to give meaning to his more obscure verses.

In his conception of the supreme self resulting from the proper union of material and ideal, then, Whitman is at variance with the Transcendental conception of enlarged being growing out of the union of the individual soul with the over-soul. In this basic idea the resemblances of the two lines of thought are superficial (one might say structural) rather than real, and consequently, critical tradition notwithstanding, there is not to be found in Whitman a true recrudescence of New England Transcendentalism. This is intended by no means to minimize the obvious strains of the

<sup>9</sup> *Walt Whitman's Workshop* (Clifton J. Furness, ed., Cambridge, 1929), 49.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

transcendental spirit in him. Whitman did not subject his ideas extensively to a logical analysis, nor did he make any serious attempt at consistency. In many respects he very apparently reflects the intellectual aspects of his time, and Transcendentalism was one of his time's most striking intellectual heritages.

In the light of this, the famous conversation between Emerson and Whitman beneath the Boston elms takes on a new significance. Instead of showing Whitman's determination to follow the principles of complete self-expression laid down by Emerson in theory and rejected in practice; although neither of them seems consciously to have realized it, the good-natured argument represents a battle at the practical point of contact between two lines of thought which were fundamentally different. The self-reliant idealism of each served only to bring them together as similar disciplines prepare two conflicting armies for efficient battle. The struggle was between militant materialism combined with idealism and idealism in its transcendental purity.

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### MARK TWAIN'S LILACS AND LABURNUMS

Many readers will recall the passage in modern style with which Mr. Clemens began chapter 4 of *A Double-Barreled Detective Story* (*Harper's Magazine*, January, 1902), and with which he deceived the unwary of a generation ago. He deceived them in spite of the chapter-motto—'No real gentleman will tell the naked truth in the presence of ladies'—which introduces his purple patch, and in spite of 'a solitary cesophagus' at the end of it. This rare bird, evidently proceeding from the author's own invention, gave rise to the first comment on the passage; see the correspondence, and the remarks of the author, printed in 1903 in *The Writings of Mark Twain*, Hillcrest Edition (Hartford, Conn.), xxiii. 312-3. In 1906 the passage was used as an illustration by the late Professor Albert S. Cook (*The Higher Study of English*, pp. 112-3), who says: 'In prose, take the exquisite preciosity of Mark Twain's famous screed, and see how easily it might deceive the inattentive into the conviction that here was a prose poem of rarest charm.'

An elaborate descriptive passage performs its due office when there is a pause in the action; as such, our passage is detachable:

It was a crisp and spicy morning in early October. The lilacs and laburnums, lit with the glory-fires of autumn, hung burning and flashing in the upper air, a fairy bridge provided by kind Nature for the wingless wild things that have their homes in the tree-tops and would visit together; the larch and the pomegranate flung their purple and yellow flames in brilliant broad splashes along the slanting sweep of the woodland; the sensuous fragrance of innumerable deciduous flowers rose upon the swooning atmosphere; far in the empty sky a solitary desophagus slept upon motionless wing; everywhere brooded stillness, serenity, and the peace of God.

Since Mr. Clemens himself began the published comment on this passage, I hope to be forgiven for involving him in the toils of the literary source-hunter. He evidently was in some measure parodying a certain type of composition; very likely other passages besides those I shall indicate were running in his mind; but it is clear that, of the passages printed below, one or both supplied him with words and ideas. I quote from chapter 26 of *The Seamy Side, a Story*, London, 1880, by Walter Besant and James Rice (New York, Dodd Mead and Company, Library edition, p. 297):

It was a quiet morning in very early June. The lilacs and laburnums were still in full blossom; the earlier and old-fashioned flowers—the wall-flowers, London-pride, polyanthus, columbine—were in their first pride and glory; the turf was crisp and fresh. The garden was quiet, young Nick having not yet returned from school. Not far off a man was sharpening something on a wheel, and the monotonous sound made one think of the roadside and the country. Overhead, larks sang; in the trees there was a blackbird, a thrush, and a chiff-chaff, besides all sorts of other songsters, as Addison would have called them.

For other mental associations, compare also, perhaps, the same chapter 26, pp. 302-3; but certainly chapter 15, p. 168:

The morning was delightful: the lilacs, almonds, peaches, white-thorn, and laburnum—for it was an early season—were all blossoming together; the air of the young spring was heavy with perfume: a blackbird was singing in the garden: all round him were the delicate leaves of spring, the young foliage, yellow rather than green; a broad horse-chestnut over the stables was showing on its branches the great sticky cone, oozing all over with gum, out of which would shortly spring blossom and leaf: the dark cedars of Lebanon showed black beyond it. At his feet were all the spring flowers that he [Stephen] remembered of old—the London-pride,

the pale primrose, the wall-flower, the violet, the auricula, the polyanthus, the narcissus, and the jonquil.

The memory of those accusing eyes of the portrait followed Stephen into the garden: the lawns and flower-beds, the lilacs and laburnums, awakened unexpected associations.

'Unexpected associations' is right, thought I, when I read that phrase in *The Seamy Side* last July (1930) at Helmsley, Yorkshire. 'Those must be the lilacs and laburnums of Mark Twain's *Double-Barreled Detective Story!*'

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### MORE AMERICAN REFERENCES TO BLAKE BEFORE 1863<sup>1</sup>

The earliest inclusion of Blake's work that I have met with in an anthology in America is the printing of the poems "On Another's Sorrow," "Night," and "The Little Black Boy" in a volume compiled by Mrs. Anna Cabot (Jackson) Lowell; *Poetry for Home and School. Selected by the author of the "Theory of Teaching," and "Edward's First Lessons in Grammar"* (Boston: Published by S. G. Simpkins, 1843). The poems appear in the first part of the book,<sup>2</sup> addressed professedly to younger pupils, and are perhaps selected for their humanitarian quality. According to the Boston directories, Mrs. Lowell (whose name does not appear on the title-page) ran a private school.<sup>3</sup> The volume was revised in 1850,<sup>4</sup> and later reprinted from stereotype plates; copies with the dates 1854 and 1855 being known. The 1854 title is *Gleanings from the Poets, for Home and School*.

<sup>1</sup> This note is a supplement to S. F. Damon's article, "Some American References to Blake before 1863," *MLN.*, XLV, (1930), 365-370.

<sup>2</sup> Pages 68, 74, and 85.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Mr. R. W. G. Vail, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, for much information about Mrs. Lowell (1819-1874), who included several poems by James Russell Lowell in her anthology. Copies of the other volumes mentioned above may be found in the Library of Congress, and the New York Public Library. The description of the 1843 volume was kindly furnished by the Librarian of Congress.

<sup>4</sup> The copyright is in the name of Simpkins, 1850; the copies accessible to me are dated 1854 (in private hands), and 1855 (in the New York Public Library).

The same poems appear (on different pages)<sup>5</sup> and testify to the continued interest of the Transcendental group in Blake.

W. H. C. Hosmer published a poem, "Blake's Visitants," in *Graham's Magazine*, for September, 1846; later collected in his *Poems*, New York, 1854. This deals only with the painter's visions.<sup>6</sup>

George W. Curtis, in an article on "Jenny Lind" published in the *Union Magazine*, for April 1848, is perhaps the first American to quote Blake familiarly. He wrote: "Like Corregio, Jenny Lind recalled in their best meaning, the verses of Blake:

Piping down the valleys wild  
[and seven lines more]."

Miss Helena H. Withrow has recently reprinted<sup>7</sup> from *The Cypriad*, by Henry Cogswell Knight, Boston 1809, a poem "The Little Sweep," which forcibly reminds one of Blake's "The Chimney Sweeper," and "The Little Black Boy." The difficulty of accounting for Cogswell's possible knowledge of Blake justifies the suspicion of the use of a common source or pure coincidence in this case. But there is some chance of contact which cannot be completely denied.

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### COLERIDGE, DE QUINCEY, AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY EDITING

In 1807 De Quincey gave Coleridge a sum of £300 which was intended by the donor as a free gift, but was accepted by Coleridge as a loan.<sup>1</sup> In 1821 De Quincey was himself reduced to desperate

<sup>5</sup> Pages 49, 52, and 61.

<sup>6</sup> This item is omitted by Professor Damon, but was recorded in Geoffrey Keynes in his *Bibliography* of Blake, p. 376, no. 414.

<sup>7</sup> *Notes and Queries*, CLX (1931), 98.

<sup>1</sup> For De Quincey's account of Coleridge in 1807 see *Tait's Magazine* (Sept., 1834) and *Works* (1863, II, 38-122); though this account "bristles with blunders of every description" (Campbell, J. D., *Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 1894, p. 161 n), it gives a picture rivaled only by Hazlitt's "My First Acquaintance with Poets" (*The Liberal*, III, 1823). De Quincey's

straits and he wrote to Coleridge asking for a return of the sum in question. A. H. Japp apparently thought the request a reflection on De Quincey. Preparatory to quoting Coleridge's letter on the subject he says:

During that residence of Coleridge at the *Courier* Office he incurred money obligations to De Quincey [this may be true, though I have found no documentary evidence to confirm it] . . . [later] De Quincey . . . ventured to remind Coleridge of these little matters.<sup>2</sup>

Then Japp gives the Coleridge letter as follows:

Believe me, I entreat you, my dear De Quincey, there was no need to remind me of generous acts, which during the long interval I have never ceased to think of,—of late more especially with an unquiet and *aching* gratitudé which has often checked my inquiries after you.”<sup>3</sup>

Now the passage should read:

Believe me, I *entreat* you, my dear De Quincey! there was no need to remind me of a generous act, which during the long interval I have never ceased to think of, for the former and better half of the time with cordial satisfaction as of an obligation only less honorable to the Receiver than to you who had so nobly and in so delicate a manner conferred the same [De Quincey made the gift anonymously through Joseph Cottle] but of late years with an unquiet and *aching* gratitude, which has often checked my enquiries after you.<sup>4</sup>

The facts speak for themselves. The minor errors were probably due to careless editing, but the changing of “a generous Act” to “generous acts,” the omission of the explanatory passage beginning “for the former and better half,” and the addition for purposes of clarity of “more especially,” all show that Japp’s zeal for his idol led him to distort the truth.

It will not be impertinent to add that De Quincey’s request cannot be construed into a weakness of character, especially when Coleridge’s conditional acceptance of the £300 and De Quincey’s

later remarks about Coleridge in “Conversation and Coleridge” (*The Posthumous Works of Thomas De Quincey*, 1891-1893, Vol. I) are more acrimonious. For details of the gift to Coleridge see A. H. Japp, *De Quincy Memorials*, I, 127-134.

<sup>2</sup> *De Quincy Memorials*, I, 146.

<sup>3</sup> *De Quincy Memorials*, I, 146.

<sup>4</sup> From the original MS. in the possession of the Misses Bairdsmith, De Quincey’s granddaughters.

desperate struggles in 1821 are taken into consideration. Japp's action is due to misguided sensibility and excessive hero-worship.<sup>5</sup>

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### WORDSWORTH AND HENRY HEADLEY

In "An Invocation to Melancholy, a Fragment"<sup>1</sup> by Henry Headley, a friend of William Lisle Bowles, who published poems in 1785 and 1786, there is an interesting similarity of idea and phrasing to Wordsworth's sonnet "The World is too much with us":

If such the rugged path that leads to fame,  
Each splendid hope and nobler aim forgot,  
Oh God! I'd rather be a looby peasant,  
Eat my brown bread and fatten in the sun  
On bench, by highway side, or cottage door,  
Than wait th' insulting nod of abject power,  
Than dog and fawn with base humility,  
To catch her pamper'd ear and Proteus smile.<sup>2</sup>

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### A NEW SMOLLETT ANECDOTE

Charles Bucke's *Life of Akenside* (1832) contains (pp. 42-43) a vivid anecdote of Smollett which has never graced Smollett's story. To be sure, Bucke is about the most inaccurate and untrustworthy critic imaginable. Nevertheless, his book derives in part from first-hand materials—reminiscences given him by two elderly gentleman who had formerly known Akenside personally.

<sup>5</sup> Another major error occurs in the *De Quincey Memorials*. The letter from Dorothy Wordsworth (I, 177) is not to De Quincey, as Japp implies, but to her brother, who was staying with De Quincey at the time.

<sup>1</sup> *British Poets*, Chiswick, 1822; LXXXIII, 97.

<sup>2</sup> See Spenser, *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*, 245 (pointed out in Cambridge [Mass.] ed. of Wordsworth), 248, 283:

Is Triton blowing loud his wreathed horn . . .  
And Proteus eke with him doth drive his heard . . .  
Yet seemed to be a goodly pleasant lea.

No authority is specified for the Smollett anecdote, but presumably it, too, came by word of mouth from some survivor of the olden time. While Bucke can never be safely trusted for a date or fact, it seems rather unlikely that this anecdote, in general substance, should be altogether unfounded or wrongly attributed. At all events, more than almost any anecdote we have about Smollett, it is the sort of thing that *ought* to have happened to "Toby."

As he [Smollett] was one day going out of Paternoster-row up Warwick-lane leading to Warwick-square, a butcher came out of his slaughterhouse with a dead sheep upon his back: "Get out of the way," said the butcher, "or I'll slam this *ship* in your face." At this moment Smollett's foot slipped, and catching hold of the butcher's arm to save his fall, both fell in the gutter, which was streaming with blood from the slaughterhouses. The butcher recovered himself first, and in rising gave Smollett a violent blow in the face with his bloody fist. Poor Smollett scrambled up as well as he could, all covered with gore; got into a shop, and there remained till a coach was procured to carry him home. He then resided in a court leading out of Dean-street, Soho. When he arrived, the children of the neighbourhood, seeing a man streaked with blood get out of the coach, surrounded the house, and the whole place was kept for some time in a state of suspense and confusion. A constable was sent for to search the house, where the *bloody man* had been taken; and it was a long time before the crowd could be pacified and dispersed. Smollett lodged there only a few weeks after; during which time he was frequently hailed by the children, "*There goes the bloody man.*"

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SMOLLETT AND LE SAGE'S *THE DEVIL UPON CRUTCHES*

There has not been available, hitherto, any evidence which would suggest that Smollett was associated in any way with an English translation of Le Sage's *Le Diable Boiteux*, with the single exception of *The Biographical Magazine . . . London, 1794*, where toward the end of the brief memoir of Smollett there is this statement: "It would be difficult to enumerate all his literary labours. He translated *Gil Blas*, the *Devil on Two Sticks*, and *Telemachus*."

It would be idle to attach any importance to the above statement were there not documentary proof that in 1759 Smollett corrected

a translation of *Le Diable Boiteux* which was originally published in 1750 (possibly in 1748) for J. Osborne. The following receipt, clearly in Smollett's own hand, is at the Bodleian Library:<sup>1</sup>

London Jan. 5, 1759

Received of Mr. A Millar Seven Guineas and a half,  
on Account of Correcting the Devil on Crutches by me

T<sup>s</sup> Smollett

On the verso of the manuscript, possibly in Millar's hand, is the following:

D Smollets rect for  
correcting  
Devil on Crutches

5 Janry 1759      7. 17. 6

The edition of *The Devil upon Crutches* improved by Smollett's corrections was undoubtedly that published in 1759 for "T. Osborne, A. Millar," and others. Before 1759 there had been several English translations. *Le Diable Boiteux*, first published in 1707, appeared the following year in an English version printed for Jacob Tonson. In 1729 J. Tonson published the sixth edition of a distinctly different translation. According to an important French authority,<sup>2</sup> J. Osborn printed *The Devil upon Crutches* in 1748, but the first printing by Osborn which I have seen is dated 1750.<sup>3</sup> This work, distinct from the two Tonson editions, was advertised on February 1, 1749-50 in the *General Advertiser*<sup>4</sup> and according to that sheet was published February 28, 1750. It was

<sup>1</sup> Bodleian MSS. 25444, fol. 57. Printed in a Sale Catalogue of Peter Cunningham, 1855. See Br. Mus. Sale Catalogues S. and W. 394.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Claretie, *Essai Sur Le Sage*, Paris, 1890, p. 434.

<sup>3</sup> "The Devil upon Crutches: From the Diable Boiteux of Mr. Le Sage. A New Translation. To which are now first added, Asmodeus's Crutches, a Critical Letter upon the Work; and Dialogues between Two Chimneys of Madrid. Adorned with Cuts. [Quotation from Milton] In Two Volumes . . . London: Printed for J. Osborn, in Pater-noster-Row. 1750."

<sup>4</sup> "In a few days will be publish'd elegantly printed on a new Elzevir letter and superfine Dutch paper, adorned with a new set of Cuts, in two pocket volumes, 4s. *The Devil upon Crutches*; From the Diable Boiteux of Mr. Le Sage. A new translation to which are now first added *Asmodeus's Crutches*, a Critical Letter Upon the Work: and dialogues between two chimneys of Madrid. Printed for J. Osborn where may be had . . . The Adventures of Gil Blas."

this text which Smollett corrected. His changes show, as do his manuscript corrections of his *Travels*,<sup>5</sup> his fondness for verbal felicity and his scrupulous care in sentence structure. This sort of revision was often performed by Smollett in his many attempts to meet his financial obligations.

Whether or not Smollett had a hand in *The Devil upon Crutches* published for J. Osborn in 1750 (or 1748) is purely a matter for conjecture. There are certain similarities between the above translation and Smollett's translation of *Gil Blas*: both exhibit a considerable freedom in transposing ideas from French into English; in both, several short French sentences are frequently combined in one long English sentence; and in both there is the tendency to sacrifice strict accuracy in the interest of vigor. There is, at any rate, a good chance that Smollett was responsible for the first appearance of the translation which he corrected some ten years later.

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## A NOTE ON SMOLLETT'S LANGUAGE

### I

The following sentence appears in *Humphry Clinker* (p. 146, Modern Library edition):

I have agreed for a good travelling-coach and four, at a guinea a day, for three months certain.

The meaning *contracted for* for the words *agreed for* is not recorded in the *NED*. This dictionary does, however, note under *agree*, definition 10, the meaning:

To come into accord as to something. [Especially] To come to terms about the price of anything, to bargain, contract.

The latest use given of this meaning for *agree* is 1669. *Humphry Clinker* appeared in 1771.

### II

One other linguistic use of Smollett is not recorded in the *NED*. This sentence appears in *Humphry Clinker* (pp. 147-148):

<sup>5</sup> See Smollett's *Travels Through France and Italy*, ed. Thomas Seccombe, Oxford, 1919, p. xxiii.

. . . the first [one of the dinner guests] was noted for having a seaman's eye, when a bailiff was in the wind.

The phrase *a seaman's eye* is not defined in the *NED.*, the *Standard Dictionary* (1928), *Webster's* (1930), or the *Century* (1927). The *Century* does give the meaning "power of seeing" for the word *eye*, but the edition of 1889 in definition 4 of the word *eye* gives *a seaman's eye* as an example of the meaning "power of seeing."

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### *PAMELA NUBILE, L'ÉCOSSAISE, AND THE ENGLISH MERCHANT*

In his preface to *l'Écossaise* (1760), Voltaire praises "l'estimable Goldoni."<sup>1</sup> It has been generally recognized that Frélon, a malicious scandalmonger in Voltaire's comedy, plays a rôle similar to the rôle of Marzio in Goldoni's *La Bottega del Caffè* (1750). Of equal interest, at least, is the fact that Goldoni's *Pamela Nubile* (1750) supplied certain details of the plot of *l'Écossaise*.

*Pamela Nubile* is the best of the dramatic adaptations of Richardson's *Pamela*. Goldoni took some liberties with the well-worn story, notably in a dénouement in which Pamela's father is transformed into an exiled Scottish nobleman. After an affecting scene in which he greets his child, Andrews confesses to her lover, Bonfil, that he is the Scottish Earl of Auspingh, banished in the last Revolution as a rebel against the crown and forced to conceal his identity. Until the time of his death, a loyal friend, William Arthur, had been laboring to obtain his pardon. Bonfil hastens to announce that he will marry Pamela; and Lord Arthur, the son of the deceased friend, explains that, shortly before his death, his father had procured the old man's pardon.

Lindane, the heroine of *l'Écossaise*, is an unfortunate young woman who has been separated from her father. She is not, like Goldoni's Pamela, a servant girl, but lives quietly in a London coffee-house, earns a meagre livelihood by her needle, and refuses the proffered charity of a kindly merchant, Freeport. Her maid

<sup>1</sup> *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Paris, 1877-85), IV, 409.

betrays her rank to Lord Murray, whom she loves in spite of the fact that a feud between his family and hers has caused her father's misfortunes. Lindane is persecuted by the jealous Lady Alton, Murray's cast-off mistress. Assisted by an accomplice, Frélon, Lady Alton contrives to have her rival arrested as a spy. Freeport bails the girl. Lindane's father, Lord Monrose, banished from Scotland and in danger of arrest, takes refuge by accident in the same coffee-house, interviews his distressed countrywoman, and discovers that she is his child. He tells her, as Pamela's father had told Bonfil in *Pamela Nubile*, that the friend who had been exerting his influence to help him has recently died. Lindane urges her father to escape with her but cannot prevent his encounter with her lover. Although Lord Monrose desires to fight a duel with the son of his bitter enemy, he is conquered by the generosity of his opponent, who throws down his sword and hands out the desired pardon, obtained by him from the ministry. The innovation of the duel scene cannot obscure the similarities in the fortunes of Lord Monrose and Goldoni's Earl of Auspingh. Both are exiled Scottish noblemen, who recover their daughters after a long absence<sup>2</sup> and whose wrongs are redressed when their last resources have failed.

Richardson's heroine returned to England from Italy, by way of France. *L'Écossaise* was promptly translated into English as *The Coffee-House, or Fair Fugitive* (1760). Several years later, George Colman the Elder very successfully adapted Voltaire's play in *The English Merchant* (1767). Well acquainted with the preferences of English audiences, Colman repainted Voltaire's canvas in more vivid colors. Freeport's humor is heightened; a farcical French valet is introduced; Lady Alton becomes more outrageous; Amelia is a more pathetic heroine than Lindane. The rôle of the lover is debased. Lord Falbridge is a repentant libertine, and Amelia is full of reproaches because he intended her ruin until informed of her noble birth. Nor is Falbridge permitted to redeem himself by generously serving Amelia's father. It is Freeport who procures and delivers the pardon of Sir William Douglas. Between Sir William and Falbridge there is no hostility, for the former was banished as an enemy of the English government and not because of a private feud. Sir William recalls the heroine's father in

<sup>2</sup> In *Nanine* (1749) Voltaire had already featured a returning father. Philippe Hombert is not, however, a nobleman.

Goldoni's *Pamela Nubile* in his political difficulties and, still more definitely, in the manner in which he is finally extricated from them. In the dénouement of *The English Merchant*, Sir William is surprised to learn that the pardon which he had despaired of receiving was made out shortly before the death of the friend who had interceded in his behalf. Since a similar detail appears in *Pamela Nubile*<sup>3</sup> but not in *l'Écossaise*, it may be inferred that although Colman borrowed more extensively from *l'Écossaise*, he was directly influenced by Goldoni's play or by the English translation of that play which was published in 1756.

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#### THE PURITAN'S EARS IN A TALE OF A TUB

The passage on ears in *A Tale of a Tub*, which, so far as I can discover, has always been accepted literally, seems to have been intended to suggest more than it says. It runs as follows:

"Tis true, indeed, that while this island of ours was under the dominion of grace, many endeavours were made to improve the growth of ears once more among us. The proportion of largeness was not only looked upon as an ornament of the outward man, but as type of grace in the inward. Besides, it is held by naturalists, that, if there be a protuberancy of parts, in the superior region of the body, as in the ears and nose, there must be a parity also in the inferior;<sup>1</sup> and, therefore, in that truly pious age, the males in every assembly, according as they were gifted, appeared very forward in exposing their ears to view, and the regions about them; because Hippocrates tells, that, when the vein behind the ear happens to be cut, a man becomes a eunuch: and the females were nothing backwarder in beholding and edifying by them; whereof those who had already used the means, looked about them with great concern, in hopes of conceiving a

<sup>3</sup> In *Pamela Nubile* (III, xiii) the pardon was issued a few days before the death of Lord Arthur's father. In *The English Merchant* (v, i) it was made out the morning of the day on which Lord Brumpton died. It is perhaps significant that Colman gives the name Andrews to the man in whose care Sir William had left his daughter in her infancy.

<sup>1</sup> Swift is definitely in the tradition that associated size of ears and noses with "a parity also in the inferior" parts of the body. See E. K. Kane, "The Personal Appearance of Juan Ruiz," *MLN.*, **XLV** (1930), 103-9, notes 11, and 16.

suitable offspring by such a prospect; others, who stood candidates for benevolence, found there a plentiful choice, and were sure to fix upon such as discovered the largest ears, that the breed might not dwindle between them. Lastly, the devout sisters, who looked upon all extraordinary dilations of that member as protrusions of zeal, or spiritual excrescencies,<sup>2</sup> were sure to honour every head they sat upon, as if they had been marks of grace; but especially that of the preacher, whose ears were usually of the prime magnitude; which upon that account, he was very frequent and exact in exposing them with all advantages to the people; in his rhetorical paroxysms turning sometimes to hold forth the one, and sometimes to hold forth the other; from which custom, the whole operation of preaching is to this very day, among their professors, styled by the phrase of holding forth.<sup>3</sup>

Certainly the passage seems full of erotic symbolism. It should be read as Swift's cryptic exposé of the lusts of enthusiasts and especially of the Holy Sisters for the ever-willing Puritan preachers.

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#### A NOTE ON DRYDEN'S ZIMRI

The notes in the Scott-Saintsbury edition of Dryden's works leave the impression that when Dryden gave the name of Zimri to the Duke of Buckingham in *Absalom and Achitophel* he had in mind the Zimri who figures in Numbers xxv. 6-15. According to Scott, Dryden was touching upon the "ridiculous rather than the infamous part" of the Duke's character; and "the unprincipled libertine, who slew the Earl of Shrewsbury while his adulterous countess held his horse in the disguise of a page, and who boasted of caressing her before he changed the bloody clothes in which he had murdered her husband, is not exposed to hatred."<sup>1</sup> The passage in Numbers referred to above tells of a plague which

<sup>2</sup> Here Swift's allegory takes on a very definite erotic significance. Seventeenth century literature is full of allusions to the hypersexuality of the Puritan preachers. Hugh Peters was especially singled out as having indulged in various adventures. See *Peters Pattern*, 1659, *Sphinx Lugduno*, 1682, and *Quaker's Sermon*, cir. 1690, for some of the more characteristic satires which include this theme of attack on the Puritans.

<sup>3</sup> *Tale of a Tub*, T. Scott ed., pp. 138-139.

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. by Sir Walter Scott and George Saintsbury, Edinburgh, 1884, IX, 258.

fell on Israel as a result of worshipping idols and of committing whoredom with the women of Israel's enemies. While Moses and the people were endeavoring to appease God's wrath, a certain man brought a Midianitish woman into the Israelite camp. A priest followed the couple into a tent and slew both the man and woman with a javelin. The names of the slain were Zimri and Cozbi. In the same edition of Dryden's works an anonymous poem is quoted in part which makes reference to the Buckingham-Shrewsbury affair, using the names Zimri and Cosbi.<sup>2</sup> The poem was published shortly after *Absalom and Achitophel*. Professor George R. Noyes, editor of the Cambridge Dryden, also thinks that in using the name Zimri Dryden was glancing at this intrigue.<sup>3</sup>

It is worthy of note, I believe, that the name Zimri had other unpleasant associations in Hebrew history. In I Kings xvi. 9-20 we find the story of another Zimri, an officer of high rank, who conspired against his king. Reference is made to his sinning "in doing evil" and to the "treason that he wrought." He had the distinction of being numbered among the kings of Israel and for that reason would be well known to readers of the Old Testament. In 1682, the year after Dryden's satire appeared, a poem was published entitled, *A Key (with the Whip) to Open the Mystery and Iniquity of the Poem Called Absalom and Achitophel*, in which detailed reference is made to both Zimris.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Dryden had in mind this second Zimri as well as the first when he drew the portrait and that his readers would catch the allusion to both.

In commenting on his characterization of Buckingham, Dryden called attention to the fact that he avoided the "mention of great crimes" and applied himself "to the representing of blindsides, and little extravagances." Buckingham was too witty, said Dryden, to resent this description as an injury.<sup>5</sup>

The portrait is more damning than Dryden intimated. He might have added to the comment quoted above that his use of the name Zimri called attention to those "great crimes" with probably

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* The poem is called "Absalom's ix. Worthies."

<sup>3</sup> *The Poetical Works of John Dryden*, Cambridge, Mass., 1909, 953.

<sup>4</sup> For this reference I am indebted to Professor Louis I. Bredvold, who has been good enough to send me a transcript of a part of the poem.

<sup>5</sup> "Essay on Satire," Scott-Saintsbury, XIII, 99.

greater effect than could have been achieved by a railing accusation. However that may be, Buckingham evidently did not react to the poem as Dryden indicated. To be given the name which had been borne by a traitor and by an odious adulterer and then to be described as a sort of buffoon could hardly have inspired pleasant feelings in Buckingham toward Dryden. We know that the Duke was moved to write a reply to that "scandalous pamphlet, unworthy the denomination of poesy," that "adulterate poem," filled with abuses so "gross and deliberate that it seems rather a capital or national libel than personal exposure."<sup>6</sup> According to Scott, Buckingham smarted under the severity of Dryden's satire and "with more zeal and anger than wit or prudence," undertook the task of answering it in kind.<sup>7</sup> If he was incensed at the portrait of himself, his reaction is quite comprehensible.

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### CHAUCER'S "SECTE SATURNYN"

In Chaucer's *The Hous of Fame* are found the following lines:

Upon a piler stonde on high,  
That was of lede and yren fyn,  
Him of secte Saturnyn,  
Th' Ebrayk Josephus, the olde,  
That of Jewes gestes tolde;

. . . . .  
Therfor was, lo, this pileer,  
Of which that I yow telle heer,  
Of lede and yren bothe, y-wis.  
For yren Martes metal is,  
Which that god is of bataile;  
And the lead, withouten faile,  
Is, lo, the metal of Saturne,  
That hath ful large wheel to turne.<sup>1</sup>

Skeat passes over the phrase "secte Saturnyn" in the above

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, IX, 260-61.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Scott had in mind Buckingham's pamphlet, *Poetic Reflections on a late Poem, entituled, Absalom and Achitophel, by a Person of Honour*.

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey Chaucer, *Works*. Ed. W. W. Skeat, Oxford, III, ll. 1430-1450.

passage, but in a note on the "metal of Saturne," he accounts for Chaucer's use of Saturn in relation to Josephus:

The reason why Josephus is placed upon Saturn's metal, is because history records so many unhappy casualties, such as Saturn's influence was supposed to cause.<sup>2</sup>

Such an interpretation, however, does not account for Chaucer's use of "secte Saturnyn." A different explanation from that given by Skeat on Chaucer's use of the planet Saturn in this passage may be sought without reference to the metal. Lead was generally associated with Saturn by astrologers and mediaeval writers regardless of the various influences Saturn was supposed to exert upon the world.<sup>3</sup>

An interpretation of Chaucer's "secte Saturnyn" may be derived from facts found in the writings of astrologers known to mediaeval writers. Roger Bacon points out in his *Opus Majus* that astrologers assign to Jupiter in the ninth house influence over religion:

Whence the ninth house, as they say, is that of peregrinations and journeys of faith and deity and religion, and the house of the worship of God, of wisdom of books, letters, and of the accounts of ambassadors and reports and dreams. Therefore rightly, as they say, is the house assigned to Jupiter, who is significant with regard to the blessings of the other life, because for those blessings there are needed faith and religion and the worship of God and the study of wisdom, and a multitude of books and of letters, as is evident from the sacred law; and a large number of ambassadors, such as prophets, and apostles and preachers, making suitable reports regarding the noble state of that life and having frequent revelations in dreams and ecstasies and visions concerning this life.<sup>4</sup>

Bacon further states that Jupiter in conjunction with any one of the other six planets signifies the rise of a new religion. Therefore, he asserts, there are six principal religions since there are six planets with which Jupiter might be in conjunction. A major conjunction of Jupiter with Mars gave rise to the Chaldean religion; that with the sun, the Egyptian; that with Mercury, the Christian. Jupiter in conjunction with Saturn, Bacon asserts, gave rise to the sect of the Jews:

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 276.

<sup>3</sup> Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1923, I, 368.

<sup>4</sup> *Opus Majus*. Trans. R. B. Burke, Philadelphia, 1928, I, 277-278.

Whence the skillful authorities aforesaid and others say if Jupiter is in conjunction with Saturn, he signifies the sacred books and of the sects that of the Jews, because it is more ancient than the others and prior to them, just as Saturn is the father of the planets and more remote and prior in the egress of the planets and in their order in existence. All faiths acknowledge it, and it acknowledges no other, just as all the planets are in conjunction with Saturn and he with no one of them because of the slowness of his motion.<sup>5</sup>

This priority of the Jewish sect as accounted for by astrologers in Saturn's wide orbit and his relation to the other planets may have been in Chaucer's mind when he wrote the lines:

Is, lo, the metal of Saturne,  
That hath ful large wheel to turne,<sup>6</sup>

Otherwise the above line concerning the wide orbit of Saturn appears to have no other purpose than that of being a mere bit of information thrown in by Chaucer with no literary significance.

This astrological theory of the origin of religions may easily have come to Chaucer's notice through the writings of the Arabian astrologers, Messahala and Albumasar whose works were already classic in the thirteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Bacon mentions Messahala as among the astrologers who wrote upon the planetary influence over religion.<sup>8</sup> Chaucer, it will be remembered, based his *Astrolabe* on a treatise of Messahala upon the same subject.<sup>9</sup> Albumasar gave a complete enunciation to this astrological theory in his *Introductorium in astronomiam*.<sup>10</sup> This work could scarcely have missed Chaucer's attention since it was widely popular not only among scientists but among writers in the vernacular.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, ll. 1449-1450.

<sup>7</sup> Thorndike, *op. cit.*, II, 826-827.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 276.

<sup>9</sup> T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, New York, 1892, II, 397.

<sup>10</sup> At the present time I do not have access to this work but it may be found in the Library of Congress. Albumasar, *Introductorium in astronomiam*. Augsburg, Erhard Ratdolt, 1489.

<sup>11</sup> Bacon shows in his *Opus Majus* that he had been greatly impressed by Albumasar's *Introductorium*, *op. cit.*, I, 276-280.

A treatise attributed to Athelardus also gives expression to the astrological theory of the origin of religions, but Thorndike, *op. cit.*, I, 42, thinks that Athelardus was merely another follower of Albumasar.

Thorndike points out, *op. cit.*, I, 703, that the *Introductorium* was gen-

Chaucer's wide and minute knowledge of astrology has been so thoroughly demonstrated by modern scholarship that it would appear unreasonable to suppose that Chaucer was ignorant of this generally known astrological theory of the origin of religions.<sup>12</sup>

Therefore, Chaucer's "sekte Saturnyn" undoubtedly has reference to the origin of the Jewish religion in a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn.

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### "AH! WHAT AVAILS"

Considerable stress has been laid upon neo-classic poetic "properties"—stock words and phrases—of the eighteenth century, but no notice has been taken of the frequent use<sup>1</sup> at the beginning of sentences, of the expression, "Ah! what avails." This line was used in almost every connection, from elegies<sup>2</sup> and pastoral love plaints<sup>3</sup> to a protest against negro slave trade,<sup>4</sup> and from grief over a dead horse<sup>5</sup> to a satirical elegy on William Pitt because

erally enough known for the writer of the vernacular poem, *The Romance of the Rose*, to cite a passage from it.

Hamilton, *MP.*, 9, 341-4, shows that Gower, a contemporary of Chaucer had used the *Introductorium* as a source for his astrology in his *Confession Amantis*.

<sup>12</sup> See *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences* by W. C. Curry, New York, 1926.

<sup>1</sup> There are over two hundred instances of the phrase and its variants. William Mason out-Heroded Herod and used the expression twice in one sentence (*The English Garden*, I, 448):

Yet what avail'd the song? or what avail'd  
Ev'n thine thou chief of Bards.

<sup>2</sup> William Collins, "On the Death of Mr. Thomson" (22): "Ah! what will ev'ry Dirge avail?" and James Hammond, "Elegy VIII" (29, 1), and "Elegy XIII" (36, 61), (*The British Poets*, Chiswick, LXIII):

Ah! what avails thy lover's pious care?  
Ah! what avails to press the stately bed.

<sup>3</sup> Pope, "Pastorals" (II, 33; III, 79; IV, 35).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Day, "The Dying Negro" (*Poetical Works, The British Poets*, XXVII, 9, 145): "Ah! what avails the conqueror's bloody mead."

<sup>5</sup> "On the Death of a Favourite Horse" (Fawkes and Woty, *Poetical Calendar*, VI, 62, 50).

he accepted a title;<sup>6</sup> from arguments for the breast-feeding of infants<sup>7</sup> to an agricultural groan, “On a Fine Crop of Peas being spoil’d by a Storm.”<sup>8</sup> It appeared in dramas;<sup>9</sup> on a tombstone,<sup>10</sup> and in a plea for the use of English wool instead of French silks.<sup>11</sup> Milton used it,<sup>12</sup> as did Johnson.<sup>13</sup> Prior has it seven times; Pope and J. G. Cooper, six; Edward Young and William Mason, four; William Whitehead, three. John Dyer, James Beattie, Lord Lyttleton, William Falconer, Miss Cartwright, Mrs. Greville, and J. C. Cunningham all used it twice. Others were John Armstrong, Thomas Chatterton, William Somerville, James Ogilvie, Thomas Percy, Soame Jenyns, Isaac Hawkins Browne, Edward Moore, Thomas Warton the elder, Earl Nugent and John Scott, besides numerous other obscure and anonymous poets. The tradition carried over into the nineteenth century, as in Landor’s “Rose

<sup>6</sup> “Extract from an Elegy on the late Right Honourable W. P.” (*Royal Magazine*, xv, 101, 21, 25):

Ah! what avails the wide capacious mind.

Ah! what avails the magnitude of soul.

A second poem addressed to Pitt also included the line: W. H. Roberts’s “The Poor Man’s Prayer, Addressed to the Earl of Chatham” (Robert Southey, *Specimens of the Later English Poets*, III, 349, 65).

<sup>7</sup> Edward Jerningham, “Il Latte” (41) (*Poems on Various Subjects*, 1756, 64): “Ah! what avails the coral crown’d with gold?” and Erasmus Darwin, *The Botanic Garden* (I, iii, 367-8):

“Ah! what avails the cradle’s damask roof,  
The eider bolster, and embroider’d woof!”

<sup>8</sup> Henry Jones (*Poems*, 1749, 103, 9).

<sup>9</sup> James Thomson, *Agememnon* (II, ii; v, viii), and *Edward and Eleonora* (IV, v). He likewise incorporated the line in an argument against sloth in *The Castle of Indolence* (II, lv, 1); in a “Song” beginning “O Thou, whose tender serious eyes” (13); twice in “Winter” (404, 561); and three times in “Summer” (332-3, 860, 869).

<sup>10</sup> John Gilbert Cooper’s epitaph on the Booth children. (Daniel Lysons, *The Environs of London*, 1810, I, 355):

Ah! what avails it that the blossoms shoot,  
In early promise of maturer fruit.

<sup>11</sup> Shenstone, “Elegy, XVIII” (27, 29).

<sup>12</sup> The question is put in the mouth of Mary, the mother of Christ (*P. R.* II, 66), “O what avails me now that honour high.” See also *P. L.* I, 153, 748; VI, 456, 789; and *S. A.* 558.

<sup>13</sup> “London” (117).

Ah! what avails it that from slavery far  
I drew the breath of life in English air.

Aylmer"; Wordsworth's, *Excursion* (III, 209); Shelley's *Hellas* (789); *Queen Mab* (VII, 153); and *Prometheus Unbound* (II, iv, 117).

The sentence beginning contained just the element of sentimental despair likely to appeal to an age standing with reluctantly-eager feet where the classical and romantic streams met. To one interested in evidences of romantic tendencies this phrase is of significance. It was a real heart cry!

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#### RECENT WORKS ON PROSE FICTION BEFORE 1800

MEDIEVAL PROSE FICTION.—The Middle Ages continue to be neglected by students of the history of prose fiction, and new facts bearing upon its development during that period are usually hidden away in books and articles by scholars whose chief interest lies in other fields,—or in what traditionally are regarded as other fields. To some it may therefore seem a paradoxical statement that the most important recent contribution to our knowledge of the history of medieval prose fiction is, in my judgment, a monograph upon a saint's legend,—Paul Alonzo Brown's *Development of the The Legend of Thomas Becket* (Univ. of Pennsylvania). To us this legend is of unusual importance because it dealt with an English hero and developed chiefly in England itself. Dr. Brown shows that within less than a century of Becket's murder the actual facts of his career had been embellished with accretions and interpretations of a highly imaginative kind. Becket's parentage, his life, his career, and his influence upon others, soon came to be related in a manner which, although not entirely out of harmony with the impression his personality produced upon his contemporaries, certainly transcended the plain facts. In other words, some of the biographies of Becket, which rapidly grew not only in length but in narrative interest and effectiveness, were historical fictions; and the saint whom Chaucer's pilgrims honored was not the Archbishop of Canterbury known to sober history but a national and religious hero glorified by the creative imagination. The methods and the steps by which this idealization of Becket was achieved, and the various sources used by the hagiographers, are fully set forth by Dr. Brown in this admirable study. As one

follows the additions and changes made in Becket's story, one realizes that prose fiction, like the drama, learned much while still a handmaiden of the Church.

It might be expected that Donald A. Stauffer's *English Biography Before 1700* (Harvard Univ. Press) would pay some attention to the relation between medieval biography and fiction; but it fails to do so, not only in the case of saints' legends, but also in that of secular biographies. Thus, for examples, John Rous's *Life of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick* is in Dr. Stauffer's list, but the question of its possibly fictitious elements is not inquired into. And in later instances, such as those of Greville's *Sidney* and Walton's *Lives*, the problem of authenticity is likewise ignored or lightly dismissed. Dr. Stauffer, towards the end of his account, gives a few pages to rather obvious statements about the relation of biography to fiction (pp. 223-8) but like his predecessors (and like his successor, Mark Longaker in *English Biography in the Eighteenth Century*) he seems to proceed on the tacit and very questionable assumptions that it is easy to distinguish those narratives which are authentic biographies from those which are not, and that the question of authenticity is of slight importance. In my opinion, both the history of biography and the history of prose fiction will rest on insecure foundations until scholars recognize the intricate relationship between the two genres, and until they define more sharply both the similarities and the differences between them. To classify or catalogue the legends of St. Thomas as biographies, and, say, Newman's *Calista* as prose fiction, is arbitrary and misleading.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—The historically important English version of *Frederick of Jennen*, originally published in Antwerp in 1518, is summarized from the British Museum copy of the Vele edition (1560) by W. F. Thrall in his "Cymbeline, Boccaccio, and the Wager Story in England" (*SP.*, xxviii, 639).—*The English Works of Sir Thomas More*, including the *Utopia* (Eyre and Spottiswoode), are edited in two volumes, with a facsimile reproduction of the black-letter edition of 1557, by W. E. Campbell, A. W. Reed, R. W. Chambers, and W. A. G. Doyle-Davidson. This edition gave rise to a valuable essay on More (*TLS.*, July 9, 1931). Mr. Campbell's *More's Utopia and His Social Teaching* (Eyre and Spottiswoode) is strongly affected by sectarian partisanship.—In O. J. Campbell's "Relation of 'Epicoene' to Aretino's 'Il Marescalco'" (*PMLA.*, xlvi, 752), evidence of Aretino's vogue in England is presented.—L. B. Wright, in "The Reading of Renaissance

English Women" (*SP.*, xxviii, 671), shows the popularity of romances and tales among such readers.

Disputation continues regarding Sidney's life and friendships. T. P. Harrison, in "The Relations of Spenser and Sidney" (*PMLA.*, xlvi, 712), takes a position midway between P. W. Long's minimizing of that friendship and Grosart's magnification of it; and J. M. Purcell (*PMLA.*, xlvi, 940) queries why Professor Harrison did not refer to an earlier article (*Archiv*, cxlvii, 53) by Mally Behler which, "using the same and somewhat better material," arrived at "conclusions somewhat opposed to those of Harrison." Charles W. Lemmi, in "The Allegorical Meaning of Spenser's 'Muiopotmos'" (*PMLA.*, xlvi, 732), attempts to show that the poem was an allegorical account of Sidney's life; but this is strongly refuted by Emma Marshall Denkinger and Ernest A. Strathmann (*PMLA.*, xlvi, 272, 940). In commenting on this topic, Professor Purcell (*PMLA.*, xlvi, 945) raises the question whether there is any evidence whatever that the alleged Philip Sidney-Penelope Rich affair was a "contemporary scandal."—K. T. Rowe, in "Sir Calidore: Essex or Sidney" (*SP.*, xxviii, 125), in opposition to P. W. Long, supports the orthodox view that the Knight of Courtesy in the *Faerie Queene* is not Essex but Sidney.—Miss Denkinger's *Immortal Sidney* (Brentano), a beautifully printed and illustrated volume, is an enthusiastic, not to say ecstatic, interpretation of Sidney's life and character; but adds little or nothing to our understanding of the *Arcadia*. In "The 'Arcadia' and 'the Fish Torpedo Faire'" (*SP.*, xxviii, 162), she traces the torpedo to its lair in Pliny, Oppian, Claudian, Bernardo Tasso, etc.—W. D. Briggs makes a weighty contribution in "Political Ideas in Sidney's 'Arcadia'" (*SP.*, xxviii, 137), which supplements Professor Greenlaw's celebrated study of Sidney's political views, by showing their relation to contemporaneous political theories in the *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*, Hotman's *Francogallia*, Buchanan's *De Jure Regni*, etc.—R. B. Levinson, in "The 'Godlesse Minde' in Sidney's 'Arcadia'" (*MP.*, xxix, 21), shows that Sidney drew Cecropia's arguments not, as Professor Greenlaw supposed, from Lucretius, but from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*.—T. P. Harrison's review of Dr. Zandvoort's *Sidney's 'Arcadia'* (*JEGP.*, xxx, 110), is so thorough and informative that it deserves notice as virtually an independent essay.

A Spanish author, some of whose tales were known in England in the second half of the sixteenth century, is studied in Barbara

**Matulka's Novels of Juan de Flores and their European Diffusion**<sup>1</sup>

— The very expensive Cranach Press edition of Shakspere's *Hamlet* contains a reprint of the English translation, made in 1608, of Belleforest's *Hamlet* from the unique copy in the Capell collection at Trinity College, Cambridge. The French original, of 1576, is also included.

That remarkable collection of tales entitled the *Heptameron* was translated into English in 1599. The first really scholarly study of its author, in three large volumes, is *Marguerite d'Angoulême: Étude biographique et littéraire* (Champion) by Pierre Jourda, who has devoted more than eight years to this elaborate investigation. The first volume deals with the life and the poems of Queen Marguerite, and the third is a descriptive calendar of her letters. The second volume is a detailed study of the *Heptameron*, and systematically examines the problems of its authorship, its sources, its realism, its character-drawing, its ideas, its technical and artistic devices, and its erudition. To find a richer illustration of the best French historical and critical methods would be difficult. Anyone interested in the influence of the *Heptameron* upon English fiction (a topic with which Dr. Jourda does not concern himself) will here find a thoroughly dependable starting-point. Dr. Jourda's analyses of the likenesses and the differences between the stories of the *Heptameron* and those of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, Boccaccio, Bandello, etc., should prove of value to many besides specialists in sixteenth-century French literature.<sup>2</sup>

**SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.**— H. W. Lawton, in "Bishop Godwin's 'Man in the Moone'" (*RES.*, vii, 23), provides the first careful study of the subject. He argues cogently that *The Man in the Moone* was composed not, as hitherto assumed, early in Godwin's life, but as late as 1625-1629. He points out some of the sources, and discusses the indebtedness to Godwin of Wilkins and of Cyrano de Bergerac. The alleged indebtedness of Swift he considers doubtful.— C. B. Millican, in "The First English Translation of the 'Prophesies of Merlin'" (*SP.*, xxviii, 720), edits Ashmole's version, which had been overlooked because it was buried in William Lilly's *World's Catastrophe* (1647). The rest of Geoffrey's *Historia* was not translated until 1718.

*The Early Essays and Romances* of Sir William Temple are now published for the first time, being edited from the original manu-

<sup>1</sup> Institute of French Studies, Columbia University.

<sup>2</sup> A noteworthy review of this work is Professor Tilley's (*MLR.*, xxvi, 480).

scripts (Clarendon Press). The romances, five in number, and in length from ten to twenty-five pages, were written while Temple was in France in 1648-50. When their present editor, G. C. Moore Smith, wrote his Introduction he was inclined to take Temple at his word, and therefore believed that, though the outlines of the stories might be borrowed from earlier tales, "the passions depicted were drawn solely from Temple's remembrances of the lady of his love" (Dorothy Osborne), and that the sources of the stories "would not be easy to discover." Soon afterwards Professor Smith, through an article by Mr. G. Hainsworth in the *French Quarterly* of September, 1930, became acquainted with François de Rosset's *Histoires Tragiques* (1613; 2nd ed., 1615), and found that Temple took his stories from that collection, following his original, not slavishly, but rather closely. Professor Smith, since his book was still in the press, was able to add a "Postscript: the Sources of Temple's Romances." The differences between the plausible speculations in his Introduction and the facts recorded in his Postscript constitute a striking reminder of the dangers of trying to interpret an author's purpose and the degree of his originality before one knows his sources.

Harold Golder continues his important researches in Bunyan with "Bunyan's Giant Despair" (*JEGP.*, xxx, 361). He traces the episode, not to literary treatments of the theme such as Spenser's, but to popular sources like Ford's *Parismus* and to folktales like *The Valiant Herd Boy* and *The Boy Who Stole the Giant's Treasures*.—In "Æsop, a Decayed Celebrity" (*PMLA.*, xlvi, 225), M. Ellwood Smith describes the changes which took place in the conceptions about the character and the person of the fabulist, especially after Richard Bentley destroyed belief in that fantastic account of Æsop which had been concocted by Planudes ("that idiot of a monk"!).

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—R. W. Frantz, in "Swift's Yahoos and the Voyagers" (*MP.*, xxix, 49), points out that there are strong resemblances between the accounts given in seventeenth-century travel-books, of the physical and mental traits of monkeys and savages, and the traits of the Yahoos. This is a well-documented article, and it draws its conclusions concerning Swift's indebtedness with commendable caution. If Professor Frantz's views are accepted, as I think they should be, one might add that Swift can no longer be justly accused of gratuitous morbid and foul-minded invention of some of the more disgusting habits of the Yahoos, because he had grounds for believing that such habits had actually

been witnessed among the lower types of existence.—F. M. Darnell, in "Swift's Religion" (*JEGP.*, xxx, 379), pleads that Leslie Stephen and Dr. Pons are mistaken in holding that Swift in *A Tale of a Tub* attacked all mysteries in religion. His main evidence is drawn from Swift's *Sermon on the Trinity*. I do not feel sure that this is conclusive proof as to Swift's position at the time when he wrote *A Tale of a Tub*.

Sir Charles Firth (*RES.*, vii, 1) edits a letter written October 9, 1705, nine months before Defoe's *Apparition of Mrs. Veal* appeared, which furnishes additional proof that Defoe was reporting without much embellishment certain actual happenings and beliefs,—a view first advanced by Mr. G. A. Aitken in his classic essay (*Nineteenth Century*, Jan., 1895). Sir Charles's contribution gave rise to one by Miss Dorothy Gardiner, "What Canterbury Knew of Mrs. Veal and her Friends" (*RES.*, vii, 188). Miss Gardiner's knowledge of the antiquarian lore of Canterbury enabled her to identify in great detail the persons and places associated with the story. Owing to these cumulative researches we now know almost everything that is needed to reconstruct Defoe's method of composing his *Apparition*,—although it should perhaps be confessed that the "scoured gown," which Mr. Aitken humorously deplored that he was unable to trace, still eludes the present indefatigable researchers.—Miss Virginia Harland's "Defoe's Narrative Style" (*JEGP.*, xxx, 55) is an intelligent essay in appreciation, as is likewise the bicentenary tribute in *TLS.*, April 23, 1931.

R. N. Cunningham, Jr. (*MLN.*, XLVI, 93) describes nine tales by Motteux (1701?; 2nd ed., 1703), some of which were derived from the *Decameron* and the *Exemplary Novels*.—Paul Hazard, in "Une Source anglaise de l'abbé Prévost" (*MP.*, xxvii, 339), shows Prévost borrowing from Steele's *Conscious Lovers*.

M. Paul Dottin's *Samuel Richardson: Imprimeur de Londres* confines itself to biography. "We are reserving," says the author, "for another volume all literary criticism of Richardson's work as well as the questions of comparative literature." Accordingly I shall postpone my final judgment of his work until its completion. Tentatively, however, I may say that this first part leaves an unfavorable impression. It contains few facts of real importance concerning Richardson's life and character that have not already been related by Brian W. Downs in his *Richardson* (1928),—and there related moreover in a manner more suitable to such a subject than M. Dottin's, which is by turns journalistic, rhetorical, hectic, smart, grimacing, or irreverent, but very rarely designed

to effect that rehabilitation of Richardson which M. Dottin declares to be his purpose.— A. L. Reade, R. Brimley Johnson, and O. H. T. Dudley (*TLS.*, Jan. 22, 29, Feb. 5, 12, 1931) discuss the question whether Richardson obtained some of his schooling at Christ's Hospital.— A. D. McKillop, in "The Personal Relations between Fielding and Richardson" (*MP.*, xxviii, 423), corrects some of the hasty generalizations current on that subject.

Brian W. Downs edits Fielding's *Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews*,<sup>3</sup> and J. Paul De Castro discloses (*TLS.*, June 4, 1931) the incidents which led up to that delightfully characteristic public statement by the eighteen-year old Henry Fielding:

This is to give notice to all the world that Andrew Tucker and his son John Tucker are clowns and cowards.

H. W. Taylor, in "Fielding upon Cibber" (*MP.*, xxix, 73), describes the many attacks which preceded the famous one in *Joseph Andrews*.— Lewis M. Knapp, in "Ann Smollett, Wife of Tobias Smollett" (*PMLA.*, xlv, 1035), a well documented article, sets Smollett's domestic life in a clear and pleasant light; and elsewhere (*TLS.*, Jan. 8, 1931) he corrects wrong statements concerning the vogue of Smollett's novels.

By far the most important of the recent monographs in our field is Harold William Thompson's *A Scottish Man of Feeling: Some Account of Henry Mackenzie, Esq. of Edinburgh, and of the Golden Age of Burns and Scott* (Oxford Univ. Press). This admirable work has a general interest which transcends its particular theme, for it is the first illuminating study of that amazingly brilliant period of Scottish letters which had, and continues to have, such profound effects upon English and American culture. The author's well justified enthusiasm for the greatness of Scottish achievements animates his patient researches into the facts of Mackenzie's life and works. His chapters, "The Sentimental Novel," "The Man of Feeling," and "Sequels," are the first detailed scholarly accounts of the sources, influences, and qualities of Mackenzie's novels. From the temptation of over-estimating the merits of his author he is saved by a keen sense of humor. I wish that Professor Thompson had gone a little more fully into the details of Mackenzie's own emotional and sentimental development, and had used Mackenzie's letters to his wife for that purpose (see p. 144); but he is of course the best judge of the propriety of so doing. From beginning to end his book is as entertaining as it is instructive. He has the gift of

<sup>3</sup> Cambridge, St. John's College, Gordon Fraser.

felicitous quotation, and is never at a loss for a pertinent anecdote. His *Mackenzie* is at least as amusing as Dottin's *Richardson*; and to compare the style and tone of these two works would be a salutary lesson in the difference between pert sprightliness and good humor never dissevered from good taste.

An edition of Mrs. Frances Brooke's *Lady Julia Manderville* (ed. 1773) is published, with a good introduction by E. Phillips Poole, by the Scholartis Press. *The Castle of Otranto*, *Vathek*,<sup>4</sup> and *The Romance of the Forest* (the last with some omissions) are edited by H. R. Steeves in the Modern Student's Library; and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, in two volumes, by R. Austin Freeman in Everyman's Library.—The Facsimile Text Society reproduces from the Colchester edition of 1785 Clara Reeve's *Progress of Romance, and the History of Charoba Queen of Aegypt*.—The American translation, by Caleb Bingham, of Chateaubriand's *Atala* is edited by W. L. Schwartz in the Stanford Miscellany.

GENERAL SURVEYS.—H. F. Watson's *Sailor in English Fiction and Drama: 1550-1800* (Columbia Univ. Press) is disappointing. Its author admits that he has slight acquaintance with the sea or with seafaring men, and places upon the title-page as a motto the line from *The Hunting of the Snark*:

The bowsprit got mixed with the rudder sometimes.

But his possible deficiencies in nautical technique are unimportant in comparison with his inexpertness in literary scholarship. He ignores some works important to his subject, such as Shebbeare's *Lydia*, and fails to see the full significance of others that he discusses, e. g., of Smollett's novels. From the fact that there are sea-scenes in the Greek romances he draws inferences as to their influence upon later writers which are very dubious, and which ignore the fact that storms and shipwrecks in all periods and times are likely to result in similar incidents. The conclusions at which he arrives seem to me of insufficient interest and value.

A better, though not entirely satisfactory, attempt is Miss Joyce M. Horner's *English Women Novelists and Their Connection with the Feminist Movement: 1688-1797* (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages). The first part of this study describes the change in the professional and economic position of women-novel-

<sup>4</sup> A brief but exceptionally clear and reliable exposition of the main facts about the life and works of Beckford is given by Dr. Margaret Bloom in the *University of California Chronicle* of October, 1931.

ists from Mrs. Behn to Mary Wollstonecraft, and the second examines the influence of the feminine mind upon novels written by women. The arrangement and the punctuation of the footnotes seem whimsical, and in the text there occur some amazing generalizations, such as "Women are less susceptible to caste-distinctions than men"; but on the whole the merits of this performance exceed the weaknesses. Miss Horner's main conclusions are that female novelists performed a distinct service by characterizing women more truly than men had characterized them, and by emphasizing values in life which men were likely to overlook. This study tends to give Miss Burney a higher place historically and intrinsically than has heretofore been accorded to her.

In *Die Vorgeschichte des historischen Romans in der modernen englischen Literatur* (Britannica, No. 2; Hamburg), Gerhard Buck limits himself to pseudo-historical novels of the periods from c. 1650-1720 and 1762-1814. One of the outstanding merits of this work is that Dr. Buck has a perfectly clear and definite conception of the literary types with which he is concerned. To him the historical novel proper does not arise until the creative power of Sir Walter Scott called it forth by inspiring historic atmosphere into narratives of ancient days. Sir Walter Scott wrote genuinely "historische Romane"; the prose fictions written by his predecessors were merely "historisierende Romane," that is to say, they placed their action in the past without recreating the peculiar milieu of that past. Among the authors of historied fiction (if I may thus paraphrase "historisierende") in the first period, the best was Defoe, but not even he conceived that one should envisage the past as different from the present; and the authors of the latter half of the eighteenth century, although they wrote historied fiction frequently, and for several different purposes, continued to lack the historical spirit. In the first part of his work Dr. Buck's account is weakened by insufficient attention to French fiction; and in the second part, by neglect of the influence of Prévost: but on the whole, both in matters of fact and in judgment, this is a valuable contribution.

C. B. A. Proper's *Social Elements in English Prose Fiction Between 1700-1832* (H. J. Paris, Amsterdam) describes the gradual widening of "the social area of prose fiction" from Defoe to Mrs. Inchbald. He shows that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the laboring classes were rarely if ever presented seriously in the novel, and that little by little in the works of Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, Mackenzie, and the novelists of the Revolution,

their hardships and problems became more and more prominent. In conclusion he describes the conservative novels and prose satires which were evoked by the emotional and intellectual excesses of some of the revolutionary enthusiasts. The point of view and the purpose of Dr. Proper often seem similar to those of a sociologist, but his regard for literary values is rarely lost. This treatise is avowedly an introduction to Professor Cazamian's study of the same movement in nineteenth-century prose fiction, *Le Roman Social en Angleterre* (1904). It traverses the ground previously covered in Dr. Allene Gregory's *French Revolution and the English Novel*, but is likely to supersede her work because it is more nearly judicial in its attitude towards political and economic issues.

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ERNEST BERNBAUM

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## REVIEWS

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*Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism*. Edited by THOMAS MIDDLETON RAYSOR. Harvard University Press, 1930. 2 vols. Pp. lxi + 256 + 375. 42 s.

The last years have seen a new series of attempts to reconstruct the mind of Coleridge out of the fragments which he left to posterity. Resort to the mass of MSS. which deal with his philosophical system has shown that his reiterated promises, which had seemed to be but the last despairing cries of a ruined intellect, were amply justified. As a critic Coleridge's reputation has long been established and the matter hitherto neglected by editors is naturally small. It was scarcely to be hoped that, in the case of a writer who repeated himself so frequently as Coleridge did, this small matter would contain any entirely fresh ideas. But every re-expression of an idea by Coleridge adds something towards its clarification, and the additional MSS. published by Mr. Raynor are of unexpected value and interest.

The chief of these are shorthand reports by one Tomalin of three lectures given in the course 1811-12. Tomalin was evidently both an accurate and an intelligent reporter and his notes contain in an early form the definition of poetry to be found in the *Biographia* chap. xiv (1817). In the early passage Coleridge's chief point is the "spontaneous" nature of imagination; to this spontaneity he traces the pleasure which he makes the first essential of art, for it "excites us to all the activity of which our nature is capable and

yet demands no painful effort, and occasions no sense of effort." In the *Biographia* Coleridge significantly revises this conception of imagination, representing it as "first put in action by the will and understanding, and retained under their irremissive, though gentle and unnoticed control."

Throughout his critical work Coleridge attempted to reconcile a conception of imagination as the vision of a transcendent reality with the realization, which his concrete critical studies made increasingly clear, of the evident fact that art is self-expression. In a precious note rescued by Mr. Raynor he gives a subtle conception of art as the expression of "our own feelings, that never perhaps were attached by us consciously to our personal selves." And in the lecture notes mentioned above he expands this flash of insight into a statement which comes near to Shelley: "our inward yearnings after perfection" make us "wish to have a shadow, a sort of prophetic existence present to us, which tells us what we are not . . . yet blending in us much that we are." Here also is a statement which implies more definitely than anything I have found elsewhere that all dramatic characterisation is self-expression: "It was not the mere Nurse (in *Romeo and Juliet*) . . . but it was this great and mighty being changing himself into the Nurse . . . that gave delight."

In all his definitions of art, from the time of his earliest reading of Wordsworth, the corner stone for Coleridge was artistic unity. In many places, by wording or direct reference, he suggests that he formulated this idea from his early readings of Plotinus. In the catalogue of "*The collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed by Alfred Morrison*" (not hitherto known to contain anything by Coleridge) we have his most definite statement of his indebtedness to the Platonic tradition: "What then if, following Plato and all the Platonists, we should define beauty to be a pleasurable sense of the many . . . reduced to unity by the correspondence of all the component parts to each other, and the reference of all to one central point." Parallels will readily occur to readers of Plotinus.

The remainder of Mr. Raynor's work is to give an exact reproduction of Coleridge's MSS. in place of the version composed by H. N. Coleridge. This first editor, nephew of S. T. Coleridge, aimed at constructing something readable for a wide public and his methods served their purpose in making his uncle the chief influence in English criticism throughout the century. But the liberties which he took with the MSS. have not hitherto been known. As an editor, indeed, he set out to enjoy himself with complete freedom from the limitations of the scholastic conscience. In his gayer moods he leapt about among jottings, lecture notes and newspaper reports, picking a paragraph here, a sentence there, and stringing them together by links of his own invention. By piecing

together bits that were not originally consecutive and expanding detached notes into an outward semblance of connected narrative, he has made Coleridge appear an even less consecutive composer than he was in reality. To track his windings and doublings is indeed an entralling pursuit. As to matter, he does not venture to add anything, but holding that Coleridge's popularity was damaged by his German metaphysics, he omits speculation if he can do so without incoherence. For example, a characteristic and valuable comparison between the states of the mind in dreams and in stage illusion is in two places omitted. He smooths out the oddities of his uncle's philosophical language—for example, Coleridge's characteristic "subsist" becomes "consist"—and also eliminates some of his descents to vulgar imagery.

But it is when writing up his uncle's rough notes that he becomes most entertaining and the reader begins to collect a notion of his style as distinguished from that of his original. Unfortunately he surpassed Samuel in his love for the exclamatory and contributed on his own account a passion for perorations. At the end of Coleridge's chronological table of Shakespeare's plays, he adds, surprisingly, "Merciful, wonder-making Heaven! what a man was this Shakespeare! Myriad-minded, indeed, he was." At the end of his concoction on Shakespeare's characters, he has, "This is an important consideration and constitutes our Shakespeare the morning star, the guide and the pioneer, of true philosophy" and on Othello and Desdemona "As the curtain drops, which do we pity most?" Unfortunately all this was like enough to Coleridge's worse moments to escape the notice of his most sensitive readers. But though Samuel's style can be turgid, his faults come from his wrestle with his matter. Henry Nelson never ventured to add matter; his additions are empty decoration. An example of his writing up of his uncle's notes will give some idea of what is to be accounted to him in the general impression. S. T. C.: "Mothers; Deborah's song: nature is the poet here. But to become by power of imagination another thing. . . . Proteus, a river, a lion, yet still the god felt to be there. Then his thinking faculty and thereby perfect abstraction from himself; he works exactly as if of another planet, as describing the movements of two butterflies." H. N. C.: "Read that magnificent burst of woman's patriotism and exultation, Deborah's song of victory; it is glorious, but nature is the poet there. It is quite another matter to become all things and yet remain the same,—to make the changeful god be felt in the river, the lion and the flame;—this it is, that is the true imagination. Shakespeare writes in this poem, as if he were of another planet, charming you to gaze on the movements of Venus and Adonis, as you would on the twinkling dances of two vernal butterflies."

Mr. Raynor's book is the outcome of a wide knowledge of litera-

ture. His estimate of the criticism of Coleridge, though high, is nevertheless well balanced; he recognises Coleridge's limitations as a critic of Shakespeare, his inability, for example, to understand that Shakespeare sometimes did things for fun. He furnishes valuable materials for the study of Coleridge in connection with his English predecessors in Shakespeare criticism and confirms the opinion, which has been recently growing among scholars, that Coleridge's debt to Germany has been over-rated. Particularly valuable are his notes discussing parallels with Schlegel. Of Mr. Raysor as editor it is sufficient to say that he has done the work once and for all.

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*The Letters of John Keats.* Edited by MAURICE BUXTON FORMAN.  
Oxford University Press: American Branch, New York, 1931.  
2 vols. Pp. lvi + 607. \$14.00.

It is hard to realize that in 1891 Sidney Colvin hoped his would become the standard edition of Keats's letters. For his notes, though valuable, are few, he has no index, no account of the correspondents, and only 164 letters. H. B. Forman's excellent editions (1883-1902) eventually included 217 letters, but as these form part of a five-volume *Keats* and are no longer easily procurable, as the Cambridge (Massachusetts) edition of the poems and letters (1899) was intended for the general reader rather than the scholar, and as several important letters have come to light, conceptions of editing have changed somewhat, and we have learned more about Keats,—for these reasons it was desirable that all the correspondence should be brought together and re-edited from the original manuscripts. This Maurice Buxton Forman has sought to do. Unfortunately, he has been able to consult the originals of only a little more than half the letters; many he has been unable to trace, although nearly all must still be in existence, and some that he has traced he has not seen.<sup>1</sup> He has, however, added 13 letters not in his father's collection, has supplied omissions and faithfully reproduced all of Keats's slips of the pen, misspellings, and omis-

<sup>1</sup> The letter of October 13, 1819, to Fanny Brawne, a facsimile of which is included in A. E. Hancock's *John Keats* (1908), is not as Mr. Forman says, "in the collection of Frank B. Bemis, Esq., Boston, U. S. A." but in the Roberts Autograph Collection at Haverford College, Pennsylvania. The curator of this collection, Professor R. W. Kelsey, who has been good enough to examine the letter for me, writes that what Mr. Forman describes as "Keats's dots" after "to my love" are not in the original. Mr. Forman does not point out that "He shall not die by God" in Keats's letter to Miss Reynolds of September 14, 1817, is from *Tristram Shandy*, vi, viii.

sion of punctuation, has furnished an excellent index, has given the present location of each letter (or, if that is unknown, the source from which the text is derived), and has had reproduced for the first time a delightful miniature of Fanny Brawne. Yet the scholar who is unable to afford these costly volumes, which are in every respect beautiful examples of book-making, may console himself with the knowledge that the important new letters are accessible elsewhere, that few of the changes in the text affect the meaning.<sup>2</sup> that the introduction deals merely with routine matters, and that the added notes are useful rather than important. A number of the elder Forman's notes have been omitted, others have wisely been abbreviated, and un-indicated additions have been made to a few; but as many new notes are unsigned their authorship is uncertain. Much more might well have been done: use might have been made of what Miss Lowell tells us of Woodhouse, Brown, and other correspondents, and noteworthy comments by later critics on the meaning and significance of certain passages might have been pointed out—for example, the illuminating remarks by Professors Garrod (*Keats*, 119-37) and Lowes (*Road to Xanadu*, 344-6, 581-2) on Keats's description of his meeting with Coleridge.<sup>3</sup>

The letters merit detailed consideration by a scholar of the first rank—such editing as we may be confident that Professor de Selincourt is giving Wordsworth's correspondence. For, as A. C. Bradley's admirable essay (*Oxford Lectures on Poetry*) and C. D. Thorpe's book (*The Mind of John Keats*) have shown, it is impossible to understand Keats's life and character or to do full justice to his poetry without a knowledge of his letters. And, quite apart from the poetry, they are well worth the reading for the picture they give, fresh, vivid, and warm with life, of a sensitive, virile, humorous, lovable, rarely-endowed young man, struggling against unsurmountable odds. Even the terrible letters to Fanny Brawne constitute a human document of absorbing interest. It is to be hoped, therefore, that these attractive volumes will lead many once again to burn through the fierce dispute betwixt genius, poverty, consumption and impassioned clay.

RAYMOND DEXTER HAVENS

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<sup>2</sup> I have noticed nothing more important than that, in a letter to George and Georgiana Keats, the last sentence written on 21 September, 1819, now reads "I wish to devote myself to another sensation"; instead of "sensation" all the earlier texts read "verse alone."

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Forman does not even call attention to Coleridge's accounts of the same meeting.

*Eighteenth Century English Aesthetics, a Bibliography.* By JOHN W. DRAPER. Heidelberg: Winter, 1931. Pp. 140. M. 7. (Anglistische Forschungen, 71.)

One of the most fertile of the literary fields awaiting cultivation is eighteenth-century criticism; and until we know a great deal more about it than we do at present we shall continue to cherish misconceptions as to what the creative writers of Pope's time thought regarding the purpose, methods, and standards of literature, the real test of great poetry, the *genres*, the unities, imitation and the rest, and as to how these fundamental conceptions changed as the years passed. We need more studies like J. E. Brown's very useful *Critical Opinions of Johnson*, but before they can be written we must know where the critical opinions of other writers are to be found. Durham's bibliography in his *Critical Essays . . . 1700-1725* and R. W. Babcock's *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry, 1766-1799* (University of North Carolina Press, 1931), are admirable but we need a complete list. This, so far as critical writings of a general nature are concerned, Mr. Draper has tried to give us. His four bibliographies include general works, architecture and gardening, pictorial and plastic arts, literature and drama, music and opera. That is, he intends to mention not only books whose chief concern is with criticism, but prefaces, periodical essays, and transactions of learned societies—everything, in short, except studies of individual authors or works. Indeed, he includes a number of pieces issued in the years immediately before or after the eighteenth century, the publications of leading French critics of the day, and translations of Aristotle, Longinus, and other classical authorities; he often cites contemporary reviews of the works listed and even adds an appendix of recent scholarly studies in the field. These "extras" are, like the survey of the vast body of eighteenth century periodicals, obviously far from complete, but they are useful. When we have so much it is unfair to ask for more but cross references, a chronological list of all titles, and the indication of later editions in which extensive changes were made (as in T. Warton's *Observations*) would have been most welcome.

There are not a few misprints and errors as to dates, and inevitably many omissions. Some of these last will be found in the following list which, however, does not include any of the forty-five general critical works in Mr. Durham's list which are not in Mr. Draper's, or the references in the index to Chalmer's *British Essayists*. My titles are few in comparison with the thousand Mr. Draper gives and they are offered in appreciation of the courage, perseverance, and industry he has shown in dealing with so huge a task. *Part I:* Anon. The alliance of music, poetry, and oratory, 1789; Hartley, D. *Observations on man*, 1749; Anon. *An Ode*

on beauty, [with] observations on taste and on poetry, 1749; Anon. An Ode on martial virtue, [with] observations [continued from the preceding] 1750; Anon. An Ode on poetry, 1754; Parsons, J. W. Hints on producing genius, 1790; Plotinus, Concerning the beautiful, translated by Thomas Taylor, 1787; Pouilly, L. J. L. de, Theory of agreeable sensations [translation], 1749; Pye, H. J. Beauty, a poetical essay, 1766; Rylands, John Select essays on moral virtue, genius, science, and taste, 1792; Shaftesbury, Characteristics, 1707-14; [Stedman, Dr. ?] Laelius and Hortensia: or thoughts on the nature and objects of taste and genius, 1782; Stubbe [or Stubbs?], Henry. Dialog on beauty in the manner of Plato, 1731; Anon. A vindication of the press . . . on criticism, 1718. *Part II*: Chambers, Sir W. Dissertation, 1772, was elaborated from his Designs of Chinese buildings, 1757; Anon. A dialogue on Stowe, 1748; Jessop W. Essay on gardens [in verse]; Pye, H. J. Progress of refinement, 1783 [on gardening]; Anon. The rise and progress of the present taste in planting parks . . . gardens, 1767; The Spectator: nos. 412, 414, 477 [on gardening], by Addison; The World: nos. 6, by H. Walpole, 15, by F. Coventry, 76, 118, 119, by R. O. Cambridge [all on gardening]. *Part III*: Foulis, R. A catalogue of pictures, 1776; Mitchell, J. Three poetical epistles to . . . masters in the art of painting, 1731; Raspe, R. E. Critical essay on oil painting, 1781; Whaley, J. A collection of poems, 1732 (contains An essay on painting). *Part IV*: Aikin, J. Essays on song-writing, 1772, and Poems, 1791 (contains Picturesque); Aiken, J. and Barbauld, A. L. Miscellaneous pieces, 1773; [Barton, Richard.] Farrago, 1792; Beattie, J. Elements of moral science, 1790-93 (Contains sections on imagination, etc.) and The theory of language, 1788; Beloe, W. Miscellanies, 1795; Blackwell, T. An enquiry into the life and writings of Homer, 1735; Bouhours, Dominique. The arts of logick and rhetorick, translated by J. Oldmixon, 1728; Capell, E. Reflections on originality, 1766 (answers Hurd); Cooke, T. Ode on benevolence [with] observations on education, taste, and poetry, 1753; Cooper, Elizabeth. Historical and poetical medley or muses library, 1737; Cooper, M. Ode on beauty [with] observations on taste and on the present state of poetry in England, 1749; Anon. Essay on the present state of the theatre in France, England, Italy, 1760 ?; Anon. Essays by a society of gentlemen at Exeter, 1796; Anon. Essays moral and miscellaneous, 1734; Fogg, P. W. Dissertations, grammatical and philological, 1796; [Gildon, C.] The life of Mr. Thomas Betterton, 1710; and The post-man robb'd of his mail, 1719; Gray, T. Observations on English meter; The Guardian: No. 16, on the lyric, attributed to Ambrose Philips; Guthrie, W. Remarks on tragedy, 1747; Hiffernan, Paul. Dramatic genius, 1770; Hill, Aaron. Original letters, 1710 ff.; Lyttelton, George, Baron. Dialogues of the dead, 1760; Melmoth, William. Letters

of Sir Thomas Fitzosborne on several subjects, I 1742, II 1749; Mickle, W. J. *Lusiad*, 1798 (contains Observations upon epic poetry); Murray, L. English grammar, 1795; Muses Mercury, June, 1707, Of the old English poets and poetry; Ogden, James. Epistle on poetic composition, 1762?; Philips, Ambrose. *Pastorals*, 1709 (preface); Pope, A. Discourse on pastoral poetry, 1717, and Shakespeare, 1725 (preface); and Pope's letters and Spence's *Anecdotes*; Prior, M. Solomon, 1718 (preface); Purney, T. *Pastorals*: viz. The Bashful Swain, 1717 (preface); Pye, H. J. Sketches on various subjects, 1797; Say, S. Poems on several occasions and two critical essays, 1745; Sayers, Frank. Disquisitions, metaphysical and literary, 1793 (contains an essay on English meters); Anon. Sentimental fables [with] an Essay on English versification, 1775; [Shiels, R.] Dissertations on theatrical subjects, 1756; Smith, Adam. Essays on philosophical subjects, 1795 (contains: Of the nature of imitation; Of the affinity between music, dancing, and poetry); Steele, J. *Prosodia rationalis*, 1775; Stevens, G. A. Lecture on heads, Dublin, 1788 (contains An essay on satire); Stocksdale, P. The poet, 1773, and Miscellanies in prose and verse, 1778; Swift, J. Proposals for correcting the English tongue, 1711-12, and *Tale of a Tub*, 1704 (section III); Tenterden, C. A. Essay on the use and abuse of satire, 1786; Thompson, W. An hymn to May, 1757 (preface); Vida's *Art of poetry* translated . . . by Christopher Pitt, 1725; Walcot, D. Observations on the correspondence between poetry and music, 1769; Warton, J. Virgil, 1753 (also contains Essays on pastoral, didactic, and epic poetry); Watts, Isaac. *Horae lyricae*, 2nd ed., 1709 (preface), and Miscellaneous thoughts, 1734; Wesley, S. Epistle to a friend concerning poetry, 1700; West, Jane. Poems and plays, 1799 (contains An ode on poetry, in four parts, ii, 215-53); Whitehead, W. A charge to the poets, 1762; The World: nos. 26, Simplicity of taste, by J. Warton, and 32, On critics, by R. Dodsley; Young, E. Two epistles to Mr. Pope concerning the authors of the age, 1730; Blackmore, Richard. Alfred, 1723 (preface); Thomson, James. Winter, 2nd ed., 1726 (preface).

RAYMOND DEXTER HAVENS

*Samuel Richardson, 1689-1761, Imprimeur de Londres: Auteur de Pamela, Clarisse et Grandison.* Par PAUL DOTTIN. Paris: Perrin, 1931. Pp. xx + 521. Fr. 45.

M. Dottin's book is the most comprehensive account of Richardson's life and work that has yet appeared—much fuller than Thomson, Dobson, or Downs—and he promises to extend it with

another volume, *Les Romans de Richardson*. The whole will approach in size and importance the same scholar's well known work on Defoe. His avowed purpose is to rehabilitate his subject, but there is a curious gap between promise and performance; he underscores the defects of Richardson's qualities, and imagines ludicrous scenes in which the young Samuel avoids pickpockets and street-walkers, or the elderly novelist babbles to his wife or his female senate. Whether the reader enjoys this archness or not, he will find a great deal of well ordered information here, but he must prepare to be interrupted by strains like this: "Foin de ces précisions de libraire et de biographe! Vibrez, harpes, et jouez, épinettes! Que le lecteur se prépare à chanter hosanna! Car Sir Charles va paraître dans toute sa splendeur!" The three chapters summarizing the novels are headed, "La Virginité de Pamela Andrews," "La Virginité de Miss Clarisse Harlowe," and "La Virginité de Sir Charles Grandison," and the story of Pamela is interspersed with "Alleluia's." Nothing is easier than to poke fun at Samuel Richardson.

At the same time, Dottin gives us much new material from the Richardson papers at South Kensington and from contemporary newspapers and pamphlets. The extracts from unpublished letters (translated into French, of course), and the accounts of the publication and reception of the novels are reliable. He follows closely the correspondence between Richardson and his advisers during the time when he was writing *Clarissa* and *Grandison*, and gives us an excellent survey of the various groups of friends and admirers. The apparatus is meagre, and students will often find it difficult to verify Dottin, especially in passages where he fills in detail according to the new mode of biography, or pieces together scanty evidence to form an account which has a deceptive appearance of completeness. A striking example is the chapter on Richardson's literary background; here works which Richardson quotes, others which he must have known, and still others which Dottin supposes he knew are indiscriminately lumped together.

We have gone to the other extreme from the ingenuous youth who found Richardson "an original for goodness and sensibility." Dottin discovers snobbery, vanity, and self-righteousness at every turn, and is moreover suspicious of all Richardson's admirers; Johnson in particular, he would persuade us, was filled with jealousy at Richardson's success, and plied the novelist with insincere praises. This is a serious misinterpretation of a famous friendship. Johnson could distinguish very justly between the man and the author, and we had better do likewise. In the great masses of correspondence we have at our disposal there is unmistakable evidence that despite an infinite deal of fussiness, puffery, and complacency, Richardson was at times capable of losing himself

in the problems that confront the artist. It is to be hoped that in his next volume M. Dottin will redress the balance.

ALAN D. MCKILLOP

*The Rice Institute*

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*A Life of Thomas Chatterton.* By E. H. W. MEYERSTEIN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930. Pp. xix + 584. \$7.50.  
*Chatterton.* By W. MACNEILE DIXON. Warton Lecture on English Poetry. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. xvi. London: Humphrey Milford, 1930. Pp. 22. 1s. 6d.

Mr. Meyerstein is the first commentator of Chatterton to give a satisfactory explanation for the origin of the name *Rowley* which the poet used to cloak his fifteenth-century self. He is the first biographer to employ the important and sometimes unique memoranda *re* Chatterton and Rowley collected by Michael Lort in the seventeen seventies and now deposited in the Central Library at Bristol. He notes in passing, although evidently without appreciating the full value of the suggestion, the debt the Rowley poems owe to the mode of the glosses in *The Shepherd's Calendar*,—and, I would add, its numerous eighteenth century imitations. He is furthermore the first modern critic to trace at length the specific effects of Chatterton's poetry on later English poets. The accumulated evidence is impressive.

So much for the positive virtues of the volume. Comment on the negative side is more difficult, because Mr. Meyerstein has forestalled a large measure of criticism. He says frankly that in attempting to view Chatterton only as his contemporaries saw him: "I am reactionary." He disclaims accuracy: "I trust it will not be imputed to me as a vast fault that I have allowed the words of others, sometimes faultily transcribed, to appear at least as often as mine." And again: "I dare not hope that the book is objective, accurate, or exhaustive, though it was prompted by a desire for truth, and a passion for English poetry."<sup>1</sup> This system extends through the book: "One may be forgiven, perhaps, for reading something more into the piece"; or thus: "If the reader complains that the period is overstepped here, it is humbly submitted that a volcano contains lava long before it is in eruption."

I would take exception, however, less to Mr. Meyerstein's unscholarly methods than to his dubious judgment. First of all, he

<sup>1</sup> "Your humility, Mr. Bingley," said Elizabeth, "must disarm reproof."

"Nothing is more deceitful," said Darcy, "than the appearance of humility. It is often only carelessness of opinion, and sometimes an indirect boast."

works too close to his subject. It is unfortunate that so much serious and intensive work has not been informed by a more enlightened, modern attitude. He sees Chatterton not from a distance but so near at hand that the turbulent uncertainties of the poet's day-to-day existence blur the reader's mind, preventing any ultimate perspective. There is also too much multiplying of detail about events, people, and places only incidental to Chatterton's history. The same errors carry over into Mr. Meyerstein's consideration of the poems.

I would furthermore question the good taste exhibited specifically in the chapter called "Girls," and generally in the detailed discussions of Chatterton's moral life and of his (entirely hypothetical) physical condition, as well as the necessity of devoting so much space to the material. The facts, such as they are, do little towards illuminating the important aspect of Chatterton—his Rowley poems—save as the psychologist may here find clues to the cause of the poet's divided personality. The student of Rowley finds the exposition distracting, to say the least.

If Mr. Meyerstein had delved less into this field and more into Chatterton's legacy to English poetry his work would have gained tremendously in value. He does present a more extensive survey of the poet's influence as "the father of the new Romantic poetry" than has yet been offered; but the subject needs—and deserves—a far deeper and more accurate examination. For example, in his analysis of Rowley's effect upon Coleridge he is content to cite Coleridge's "Monody on the death of Chatterton" as the prime evidence of Coleridge's regard. There is much more eloquent testimony than this; for, although Professor Lowes did not recognize it when he paced the road to Xanadu, *The Ancient Mariner* was once intensely coloured by Chatterton's *Bristowe Tragedy: or The Dethe of Syr Charles Bawdin* as well as by other Rowley poems. The extent of this influence may best be traced in the Bristol (1798) edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*, where *The Rime of the Ancyent Marinere* was originally published with many curious, affected mediaevalisms quickly dropped in the later versions. Only from the Bristol text can one really understand what Coleridge meant when he wrote that the poem "was professedly written in imitation of the *style* as well as the spirit of the elder poets," although that "with a few exceptions . . . the language adopted in it has been equally intelligible for these last three centuries."

That *The Dethe* was the starting point (technically speaking) for Coleridge's *Rime* is clear from the ballad measure used in each (although Coleridge introduces variations) and from an undeniable parallel (pointed out to me by Professor R. D. Havens) between the two poems. Coleridge writes:

The bride hath pac'd into the Hall,  
 Red as a rose is she;  
 Nodding their heads before her goes  
 The merry Minstrelsy.

Compare the following passage in *The Detehe*:

Before hym went the council-menne,  
 Ynne scarlett robes and golde,  
 And tassils spanglynge ynne the sunne,  
 Muche glorious to beholde: . . .  
 Ynne diffraunt partes a godlie psaume  
 Moste sweetlie theye dydd chaunte;  
 Behynde theyre backes syx mynstrelles came,  
 Who tun'd the strunge bataunt.

Moreover, that Coleridge had Chatterton's *strunge* spellings in mind as a pattern for the Bristol version would explain the use therein of forms like *ancyent*, *marinere*, *cauld*, *emerauld*, *sterete*, *ee*, *ne . . . ne*, *n'old*, *eldritch*, *yspread*, *yeven*, *beforne*, *aventure*. Coleridge took *pheere* (l. 182) either directly from the Rowley Glossary (where, however, it is spelled *phere*) or from "Aella". The shift from iambics to lilting anapests—later to be used so exquisitely and as "founded on a new principle in poetry" in "Christabel"—he could have taken from "The Unknown Knight".

There are several other points in the book which call for comment; but even though casual errors in the spelling of proper names, and typographical slips may be quickly dismissed, two wrong ascriptions made by Mr. Meyerstein should be corrected. *Rowley and Chatterton in the Shades* was published anonymously in 1782 by Thomas James Mathias, not by George Hardinge; and the author of the devastatingly clever *Archaeological Epistle to the Reverend and Worshipful Jeremiah Miles* was not John Baynes, who even disclaimed it, but William Mason.

In marked contrast to *A Life of Thomas Chatterton* is the 1930 Warton lecture *Chatterton*, by Professor Dixon, which traces the poet's life in general terms and in relation to his century. From Chatterton's history, from "the appearance of such a poet in the age of prose and reason" Professor Dixon derives an interesting thesis. He regards the situation as typical evidence of the eternal conflict between man's desire for beauty, and man's desire for logic,—a struggle as keen in modern life as ever in the eighteenth century. He feels, however, that today we are nearer a reconciliation of these two forces, since "modern reason looks nervously at her concepts" and has lost a little of the arrogant confidence with which she once asserted the supremacy of her assumptions. We can even recognize magnificence and splendour in the challenge reason now flings to our intellect,—and what is this but to admit of beauty in the very heart of logic? If we have made such pro-

gress, we may begin to hope for the day when the spirit of poetry and the spirit of reason will lay aside their feud. But any compromise was inconceivable in Chatterton's time; and because of the intransigency he perished. The poet of Rowley is one of Reason's failures.

ESTHER PARKER ELLINGER

Baltimore

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*The Phænix Nest, 1593.* Edited by HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS.  
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. xlivi +  
241. \$5.00.

This attractive anthology has been several times reprinted, most recently and satisfactorily by Hugh Macdonald in 1926 as one of the 'Haslewood Books.' The present editor explains that his edition was prepared before Macdonald's appeared, but there was in any case room for both, quite apart from the fact that the book now for the first time receives full editorial honours. Except in the size of type, which is slightly reduced, Rollins follows the typographical details of the original a little more minutely than did Macdonald: a checking of several scattered pages has revealed no variant of any sort. A separate index of authors might have been convenient.

The introduction is naturally devoted largely to a discussion of the identity of the editor R. S. While on this question no certain conclusion seems possible, Rollins evidently inclines, in affection if not in reason, to one Richard Stapleton, a friend of Chapman and probable author of the *Phillis and Flora* included accidentally it would seem in the first edition of his *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*. One could wish that more definite information were available, for R. S. was no mere publisher's hack. Not only did he have access to more than commonly agreeable poems from authors of repute, and take the trouble to obtain apparently sound and accurate versions, but he oversaw his work with meticulous care. Rollins points out for instance that his versions of Lodge's poems are superior to those that appear in Lodge's own collection *Phillis*, published the same year, and adds that "The *Phænix Nest* is the most carefully printed miscellany, one of the most carefully printed books, of the period." R. S. should be honoured among editors: it is fitting that he has himself found an editor like Professor Rollins, whose graceful ambition it has been to rival the accuracy of his predecessor.

It is curious that only a single early edition of the anthology seems to have been issued. Considering that of the 1593 impression at least seven copies survive, I cannot regard the suggestion that "Other editions might easily have been published after the first without leaving any trace" as at all probable. The copy was

regularly entered (8 Oct., 1593) to "Iohn Jackson and his partners," that is the Eliot's Court syndicate, but the imprint is somewhat laconic: "Imprinted at London, by Iohn Jackson. 1593." It was possibly a more or less private publication, over which R. S. retained control, and he may not have cared to have copies multiplied. But the book may well have been popular, and several later collections are supposed to have borrowed from it.

There is little in the editing of the volume upon which it is necessary to comment. Rollins should not have said (p. xii) that the Harvard copy "belongs to an impression earlier than the British Museum copy" on the strength of a couple of uncorrected readings. An 'order' of individual forms does not imply any 'order' of copies. Nor was he well inspired to write (p. xxxviii): "one sonnet with the peculiar rhyme-scheme abab bcccd edee ff." The poem is not a sonnet and can never have been meant for one, even if it is counted as such in *Phillis*: it is a couple of rime-royal stanzas!

The care and taste of the editing deserved and have received equal accuracy and beauty of printing from the Harvard University Press. The whole is a very pleasing specimen of book-building, and it is unfortunate that the sheets were not handled more carefully before binding: in the copy received, one of fifteen printed for review, some of the pages are badly smudged.

W. W. GREG

*London*

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*The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America, 1860-1920 (Main Currents in American Thought, Volume III).* By VERNON LOUIS PARRINGTON. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1930. Pp. xvii + 429. \$4.00.

The death of Professor Parrington prevented the completion of the third volume of his notable trilogy upon the history of American thought. The plan for the entire volume had been worked out, however, and enough of the actual writing finished to give a fairly connected account from 1860 to 1900. His appraisal of developments since then is suggested by essays and other fragments reprinted from various sources. Of these addenda the one entitled "A Chapter in American Liberalism" is alone sufficient to indicate the loss to American literary history and social criticism entailed by his untimely passing. His colleague Professor Eby provides in a foreword a brief and appreciative assessment of the author's methods of work and literary significance.

The present volume possesses all the virtues of the earlier ones, with the additional merit that the author, now venturing into a less worked over period, succeeds in providing a unifying pattern for the apparent complexities and inconsistencies that marked the

surface of American intellectual life. This central unity he finds in the varied reactions of a rural-minded, individualistic, democratic society to the portentous rise of the related phenomena of industrial capitalism, modern science, the plutocracy and what someone has called "urban imperialism." It is a neat formula which serves to explain both the realists, whose outlook and literary methods were deeply colored by the coming of the new order, and the romanticists who sought an escape from it. Professor Parrington defends his thesis with a wealth of evidence and an eloquence of phrase which will make his challenging synthesis a point of departure for all future students of the period. His narrative, lacking every trace of that encyclopedestrian manner which mars the usual text-book survey of the field, sweeps the reader along often at a breathless pace.

His love for trenchant generalization sometimes betrays him into ill-considered statements. Few would agree that the post-war generation was "the most picturesque generation in our history" (11); that the New England zeal for reform was dead (51) when such diverse figures as Charles W. Eliot, Lucy Stone, Neal Dow, Ben Butler, Henry L. Dawes, Edward Bellamy, H. W. Blair and Frank B. Sanborn (not to mention Mrs. Eddy) were heralding a variety of new dawns; that Walt Whitman was "the greatest" figure in American letters (86); that "after Comte history became an interpretation and a philosophy" (197); that "the history of the western frontier is a long drab story of hardship and privation and thwarted hopes" (260) and nothing more; or that "only a knave" would call Peter Cooper's greenback proposal "the visionary scheme of a fool" (281). Such near truths do no damage to his main argument, neither were they needed to give pith and interest to his presentation.

Since the author's distinctive purpose is to relate literary currents to the social and economic background, it is pertinent to observe that he is most successful in accomplishing his aim when dealing with the "tragic era" that formed the backwash of the Civil War. Preoccupied with the more striking economic developments and the prevalent political bankruptcy, he fails to note the intellectual renaissance which, beginning in the early eighties, ushered in one of the most fruitful epochs in the history of the American mind. Science is a vague concept which he associates with a few leading European figures and that urbane American literary merchant John Fiske—not something that was being vigorously worked by such great native contributors as Willard Gibbs, Michelson, Rowland, Newcomb, Cope and Theobald Smith. One gets no notion that over five thousand eager young Americans (according to Thwing) were thronging the world-famed German centers of learning from 1860 to 1900; that graduate schools were beginning a robust development at home; that great national scholarly and scientific societies were springing up on every hand.

Similarly he is satisfied to dismiss the religious background with allusions to Beecher, Moody and Sankey, thus, with the single exception of Phillips Brooks, overlooking the really significant churchmen who by their writings and example were seeking to make religion a part of life instead of apart from life—men like Washington Gladden, Lyman Abbott, Josiah Strong and Cardinal Gibbons. The movement, of course, was reflected in belles-lettres, most notably perhaps in the case of Margaret Deland's *John Ward, Preacher* (1888). He is equally blind to the creative forces at work in the fine arts. To cite a single instance, American architecture is to him all gingerbread and jerrybuilding with no apparent awareness of the revolutionary changes that were being wrought under the leadership of Richardson, Burnham, Root and McKim, Mead and White. Perhaps most mystifying of all is his total neglect of the multifarious humanitarian strivings of the time—the charity organization movement, social settlements, penal reform, feminism and the like—themes which should have been dear to the heart of so stout a champion of liberalism.

In two other respects the present work reveals limitations that are shared equally by the volumes which preceded it. In the first place, while professing to present "the total pattern of American thought" or, more modestly, "the broad drift of major ideas" (xx), it is almost wholly concerned with the evolving concept of democracy. That there were other "major ideas" is nowhere hinted at. Thus it is left to Parrington's successors to trace the changing conceptions in regard to such matters as the family, morals, education, social reform, nationalism, and the uses of leisure. The other limitation concerns the nature of the material he has used. For the most part he has reexamined familiar literary landmarks, including, to be sure, major treatises in economic theory and political science. If the reviewer is right, such sources need to be supplemented and corrected by a sifting of the vast volume of printed materials—newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, cartoons and the like—which have reflected and embodied the mental attitude of the plain citizen. Indeed, it is arguable that the dominant American philosophy of life has often been implicit rather than explicit; that it has taken the form of action (or inaction) of which only incidental trace may be found in printed records.

Such criticisms are offered not with a view to detracting from the substantial merits of Professor Parrington's achievement, but rather to define its place as a path-breaking effort in the social history of American literature. His work is epoch marking if not epoch making. Students both of American literature and American history will long remain profoundly in his debt.

*Harvard University*

A. M. SCHLESINGER

*The Early Development of Henry James.* By CORNELIA PULSIFER KELL. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1930. Pp. 309. \$2.00. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature.)

The idea in this work of seeking light on James by studying his beginnings and tracing his development is a good one; yet the results presented are neither new nor enlightening. The author has no new facts and her whole effort is interpretative and critical, on a scale—her study ends with *The Portrait of a Lady*—exceeding anything yet written about James, and surely far out of proportion to the value of the result. She discusses at length the relation between the reviews and the stories, only to arrive at the familiar conclusion that James was trying to be realistic, under Balzac's influence; and a three page analysis of James's first story brings out little more than the fact that it is a failure, despite the excellent example of Balzac. It is shown that James's progress as a writer was slow, that Howells may have led him to turn from realistic to romantic subjects in his early stories, that *The Passionate Pilgrim* is not in the main autobiography, that James did not find himself until he began to explore the international subject. Miss Kelly stresses, rightly I think, the interest of James's travel books, and their debt to Gautier. She is on much more questionable ground in ascribing a vast importance to the influence of *Wilhelm Meister*, Carlyle's translation of which James reviewed in 1865. The new ideas which Goethe is supposed to have inspired are already apparent, it seems to me, in James's review of *Azarian*, six months earlier; and in any case they are such as would naturally occur to any critical reader of novels. "Stubbornly, grimly," writes Miss Kelly, "though more silently now, he clung to the idea which had tormented him ever since he read *Wilhelm Meister*." There is no evidence of this "torment"; on the contrary the reviews are from the first inspired by the serene assurance of a very young reviewer.

For the purposes of criticism Miss Kelly is effusive and overfanciful; her language is fine but vague, and she is not sufficiently critical. It is hardly necessary for example to explain the origin of "Madame de Mauves" by asserting on no evidence whatever that, "It had probably grown up around some American woman, married to a Frenchman, whom James had suspected of trying to live with a sorrow." Again, two pages are devoted to the "sources" of "The Madonna of the Future," of which the upshot is that James had been in Florence and had read Balzac and de Musset. Surely it is uncritical to assert as Miss Kelly does that in *The Portrait of a Lady* James has written a novel "that has as much life as those of George Eliot and Turgénieff and more art." And one cannot help feeling that the manner of such a passage as the following is unfortunate in a critical study. "James had made

his debut! He was a writer! He was one of the literary profession!" It is to be regretted, finally, that a scholar's or critic's English, on a literary subject, and in a university publication should be disfigured by numerous faults of syntax—"whom" for "who," for example (p. 216),—and by such expressions as "broadly-minded" (p. 11), "omniverous" (p. 27), "cannot help but" (p. 27).

But these are details. What does the study show as a whole? It shows James trying to reconcile his theories of the novel with the practice of two different groups of writers whom he knew and admired, George Eliot and Turgénieff constituting one group and the French Naturalists the other. But Miss Kelly does not quite grasp the character of this opposition, or perhaps it is merely that her language is vague, and she confuses the matter by failing to distinguish between James's attitude towards Balzac and his attitude towards the Naturalists. The dilemma is summed up for her in the terms "art and life," and according to her the lesson James finally learns is that a novel must have both. But James never for a moment denied that *Le Père Goriot* has life, or that *Madame Bovary* has it, and his objection to the first is its lack of "charm," to the other both the absence of charm and the particular kind of life displayed in it. It is not the untruthfulness of Flaubert but his inhumanity that troubled James, and the problem was not how to reconcile "art" and "life," but how to combine the "finer" kinds of life, the spiritually richer and graver, with a devotion to truth as rigorous as Flaubert's and a care for art as telling and decisive.

MORRIS ROBERTS

*Connecticut College*

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*Atala, or the Love and Constancy of Two Savages in the Desert.*

Translated from the French of F. A. CHATEAUBRIAND by CALEB BINGHAM. Edited by WILLIAM LEONARD SCHWARTZ. Stanford University Press, 1930. Pp. xii + 114. \$2.00.

*Letters of Sarah Byng Osborn 1721-1773*, from the Collection of the Hon. Mrs. McDonnel. Edited by JOHN McCLELLAND. Stanford University Press, 1930. Pp. xx + 148. \$2.25.

These two volumes are the first of a series styled *The Stanford Miscellany* to be issued under the general editorship of Professor Margery Baily, with the assistance of six consulting editors. The purpose and scope of the undertaking are indicated by the following words printed on the paper jackets of the books: "They will afford direct acquaintance with minor classics and literary curiosities of the period—works which are of great importance not only because

they show which way the wind blew in their day but because they serve to enrich our knowledge of the strictly contemporary elements in the great artists of the period. The *Miscellany* will therefore include *belles lettres*, critical theory, historical sources, biography, philosophy and religion, educational systems and theories, and scientific discussion; the period to be covered will be that in which reason and sentiment were consciously at odds, with what we call romanticism as a result—roughly, 1660-1830." Since the series covers in large part the same field as that of the Facsimile Text Society, it seems advisable to distinguish between the purposes of the two undertakings. The aim of the Society is to issue such books as will prove a valuable aid to the researches of scholars, books that may not in themselves possess sufficient value to merit critical editions, but which may furnish valuable evidence to scholarly investigation. For this reason much of the petulant criticism of Professor Shafer (see *The Bookman*, Feb., 1931) directed against the management of the Society is beside the point. The Society hopes to make accessible to scholars books that otherwise might always remain inaccessible because they possess no attractions for critical editors or bibliophiles. The *Miscellany*, on the other hand, would seem to appeal to the student rather than to the scholar. Unlike the Society, which reproduces books practically as they stand, this series modernizes the text, and supplies a brief introduction, selected bibliography, and scattered explanatory and textual notes, aids which are too circumscribed to be of much assistance to the scholar in the field, but which are quite adequate for the less specialized student, if we may judge the whole series from the two volumes that have appeared. The edition of Bingham's translation of *Atala* puts in the hands of students who do not know French an important example of literary primitivism, a subject of constantly growing interest, which will receive thorough scholarly treatment in a history, soon, we hope, to issue from the Johns Hopkins University. The selection of this volume for publication should meet with wide approval. Perhaps the same may not be said of the second volume. There are so many other and better sources of information on all phases of life in the eighteenth century, from which the student can derive more satisfaction, that even the remote relationship of Sarah to Dorothy Osborn seems hardly sufficient to justify the selection. In general the reviewer finds the letters neither interesting nor very informative. If they had existed only in manuscript form, the volume would be more justified, but since they had already been printed once, this argument is removed.

The volumes are plainly bound in cloth of attractive colors, and printed on satisfactory though far from elegant paper.

*Washington University*

RICHARD F. JONES

*L'Influence du Naturalisme français en Belgique de 1875 à 1900.*

GUSTAVE VANWELKENHUYZEN. Mémoire couronné par l'Académie Royale. Bruxelles: La Renaissance du Livre. 1930. 339 + xii pp.

The final chapter of this work may be read to advantage before the rest. It sums up the conclusions, based on a thorough examination of discussion in Belgian periodicals and on analyses of novels and plays which show the influence of the naturalistic theories. The opening chapter sketches rapidly the rise of naturalism in France. The author argues that there never was, properly speaking, a naturalistic school: Zola's followers accepted his theory of documentation while abandoning his pseudo-scientific experimental credo. "Les tempéraments . . . l'emportèrent sur les théories." This remark is preëminently true of Belgium where the passionate discussion of naturalistic principles contributed largely to the renaissance of letters beginning about 1875. The tradition of the old Flemish painters paved the way for the new doctrines.

En vérité, le naturalisme, loin de conduire ses adeptes à l'imitation servile des maîtres français, allait être pour ceux-là l'occasion de mieux s'affirmer dans des tendances profondes et irréductibles. Il leur apparaîtrait la formule libératrice et non la sèche et restrictive théorie.

From 1874 to 1878 two Belgian periodicals, *L'Art Universel* and *L'Artiste*—fused together in 1877—championed vigorously the rising genre. Excerpts allow us to follow the evolution of the sense of the word *naturalism* as understood by the Belgians. It is first defined as "le culte ému, la mystérieuse intuition de la Nature," and this conception is never completely lost from view. Characteristically the discussions are addressed to painters no less than to men of letters. Soon Céard, Huysmans and Zola became regular contributors. Opposition began sharply in 1879 and a lively polemic ensued. Thus the public was aroused to interest in aesthetic questions, for naturalism proved a cat-o'-nine-tails to general indifference. No aristocratic literary dogma, for which initiation would have been required, could have had the same effect. The staffs of most of the journals were divided in their views and both sides were presented in the same columns. Thus *La Jeune Belgique*, which assumed the leadership in the renovation of Belgian letters in 1881, had staff editors in both camps. If Max Waller was at first with the naturalists, Albert Giraud made large reserves and quickly turned to the Parnassian ideal of pure art for which the journal stood after 1884. The battle grew hotter after the publication of Camille Lemonnier's *Un Mâle* (1880) with its marked naturalistic tendencies already foreshadowed by the same author's *Sedan* (1871). M. Vanwelkenhuyzen passes in review the entire production of Lemonnier who played in Belgium a rôle

analogous to that of Zola in France. Echoes from the critics, friendly and hostile, are quoted. The result of the survey points toward the indebtedness of Lemonnier to the French naturalists but at the same time makes clear his independence and essential originality. His ideal of art is always the "mélange d'idéal et de réel." The influence of Léon Cladel, of Daudet, and of the Goncourts was even more marked than that of Zola.

About 1886 the "réalisme sympathique" of the Russians and the "réalisme imaginatif" of the English began to supplant the French "notation scrupuleuse des choses extérieures." But at the same time the *théâtre libre*, which had more success in Bruxelles than in Paris, popularized the naturalistic plays. Although both Lemonnier and Eekhoud published during the nineties novels with marked naturalistic traits—a fact which adds evidence, if any is needed, that they always followed their own temperaments rather than any school—naturalism, after 1890, is in full decline before the symbolist movement.

Such, I believe, are the principal findings reached by the author in his wide and conscientious survey of his subject. He has marshaled into an admirably clear-cut presentation a mass of complicated detail and made a valuable contribution to the history of naturalism besides doing pioneer work in viewing the movement as seen through the Belgian temperament.

Reed College

BENJAMIN M. WOODBRIDGE

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*Balzac et la Femme étrangère.* By I. JARBLUM. Préface de M. MARCEL BOUTERON. Paris, Boccard, 1930. Pp. 290.

Books on Balzac continue to pour in both from America (with two centers of production, Chicago and Princeton), and from France. This new contribution is very conscientiously written, and shows that the author is well informed and has expended a great deal of work on it. One could guess in every page that the author is a woman, even if it was not indicated in as many letters, and if one did not find remarks indicating that she would have preferred Balzac to have found only good qualities in women. The various chapters are: La Juive, L'Allemande, L'Anglaise, L'Italienne, L'Espagnole, La Polonaise, La Russe. Mlle Jarblum in each case recalls the women found in the various novels, and Balzac's likes and dislikes.

One can see that this study may be at times of real service. On the other hand, one does not see that Balzac was particularly original in the national traits he assigned to women. This must not be taken as a reproach. National characteristics had been observed before, and it was not with the relatively few travels under-

taken by Balzac that he could be expected to detect novelties. We learn that he disliked English women particularly, to the point of being unjust, and that he was very discreet in referring to Polish women, out of deference to Mme Hanska; also that Balzac drew on the English chiefly for the characters of old maids, and on the Germans for girls. The concluding chapters (VIII-X) are at times a little irrelevant, and at times even surprising; for instance, one reads: "Quelque paradoxal que cela puisse paraître, il arrive à Balzac dans ses brèves remarques d'attribuer un même trait aux différentes nations . . ." (p. 260). "Paradoxal"—why? A woman is always a woman after all; and she may, without surprising us, be artful in Italy and in Germany too; naïve in Germany and Italy; prudent in Italy and Spain, energetic in Provence, Brittany, Montenegro, and Italy.

There is a charming Preface by Mr. Bouteron.

ALBERT SCHINZ

*University of Pennsylvania*

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*Swinburne: A Nineteenth Century Hellene.* By WILLIAM R. RUTLAND. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931. Pp. viii + 410. 21 s.

Mr. Rutland's introduction, "The Hellenism of Some Modern Poets," particularly interesting for its comments on Shelley, is followed by admirable criticism of *Atalanta* and *Erechtheus*. Especially noteworthy is the scholarly treatment of the Meleager myth and of such vexatious questions as the relation of *Atalanta* to the poet's personality and to Greek drama. Mr. Rutland sees in *Erechtheus* the most faithful representation in English of the spirit of Attic tragedy, a play attaining to "an ethical intensity and a spiritual elevation not often equalled and perhaps never surpassed in our literature." Valuable appendices contain originals and translations of source-material known to Swinburne, as well as translations of his Greek poems.

A chapter on the Hellenistic poems is less satisfying. The author ignores Swinburne's affinity with the primitive emotions which lie behind ancient literature. He does not mention, for example, *A Nympholept* or *The Witch-Mother*. Is not Mr. Rutland's Hellenism, as his remarks on Keats seem to indicate, the chastened Hellenism of a modern humanist? He protests against the traditional tendency to belittle the content of Swinburne's poetry, but he does not write with sufficient detachment of *Poems and Ballads*. Must one still refer to the "hot sensuality" of *Hermaphroditus* and interpret *Dolores* (which most readers will continue to admire more than *Athens: An Ode*) as fustian? To prove the insincerity of

Swinburne's most famous poem, Mr. Rutland triumphantly quotes a letter to Howell, in which the poet speaks of adding "more jets of boiling and gushing infamy" to the "poisonous fountain of *Dolores*." But surely a hen's cackle, however facetious, would not determine the quality of an egg. To mention another debatable question, Mr. Rutland, like Nicolson and Lafourcade, exaggerates the disingenuousness of *Notes on Poems and Reviews*. For the most part one would rather praise Mr. Rutland's erudition and insight than quarrel with his sense of critical values. The general excellence of his study makes more glaring occasional misprints, obvious misspellings, and infelicities like "except I" (p. 85), "interpreted" (p. 146), "very divided" (p. 155), "Swinburne's best work is not so terribly difficult" (p. 249). Greater care would have prevented such blunders as that (p. 294) in which Hilton's celebrated parody, wrongly attributed to Calverley, is badly misquoted. Mr. Rutland, by the way, quotes too much, especially from Gosse.

*Swinburne: A Nineteenth Century Hellene* is written with a modesty and a disarming candor which we do not expect from a young poet. Students will find it most interesting and valuable.

*The University of Kansas*

CLYDE K. HYDER

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R. L. Stevenson, *A Study in French Influence*. By HARRIET DOROTHEA MACPHERSON. Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc. New York, 1930. Pp. 76.

This pamphlet essay gives a pleasant enough introduction to the influence of France upon Robert Louis Stevenson. The first section, on Stevenson's relationship to France throughout his life—his various residences, friendships, and literary enthusiasms in France—is distinctly the more readable and valuable part of the study. The second section, on the French elements in Stevenson's works, is a little cumbered with pedantry of method without pedantry's virtue of exhaustiveness of treatment. The conclusion amounts to little more than that Stevenson's French contacts influenced him as a stylist—which is undoubtedly true. A great deal of the material given, though often interesting in itself, is partly irrelevant or at least has not been successfully related, to this conclusion. The gist of the book may be found in a passage from one of Stevenson's letters, to which Miss MacPherson gives hardly enough prominence: "There is something, or seems to be something, in the very air of France that communicates the love of style. Precision, clarity, the cleanly and crafty employment of material, a grace in handling, apart from any value in the thought,

seem to be acquired by the mere residence or, if not acquired, become at least the more appreciated. The air of Paris is alive with this technical inspiration."

ARTHUR KYLE DAVIS, JR.

*University of Virginia*

### BRIEF MENTION

*The Matchless Orinda.* By PHILIP WEBSTER SOUERS. (Harvard Studies in English, V.) Cambridge: The Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. 326. Mr. Souers' book will focus attention upon a once-famous figure who is now, it is to be feared, no more than a melodious pseudonym to most readers. Not even the eighteenth century, though free of her name, seems to have read Katherine Philips extensively, since the last reprint before Saintsbury's, in 1905, was in 1710. She has previously received only two critical appraisals, one by Gosse, in his *Seventeenth Century Studies*, and one by Saintsbury, in the second volume of his *Caroline Poets*. Orinda's contemporary fame, her long neglect, and her position as the first poetess of our language, all demanded that she should be reappraised.

In general the biographical and historical portions of Mr. Souers' book are excellent. They deal thoroughly and soundly with Orinda's family connections, her childhood and marriage, the uneventful Welsh years, and the brief period of glory in Ireland and after. Genealogical records have been combed for every pertinent item, and the external record is skilfully woven with the shadowy revelations of the poems. Mr. Souers has done particularly good work in tracing the chronology of the various friendships, and the relations with Sir Charles Cottrell. His identification of "Calanthe" with Lucasia in the Orinda-Poliarchus correspondence clears up several points otherwise obscure. In tracing her literary affiliations he does pioneer service in demonstrating her indebtedness to the courtly Platonist, Cartwright, and he rightly insists on her importance as a literary link between the Caroline era and the Restoration.

The controversial and critical portions of the book are not equal in value to the rest. Indecisiveness of method in presentation often obscures his point. In his discussion, for instance, of the "famous Society of Friendship", he seems to vacillate between believing that the society did exist and was recognized by Orinda's contemporaries, and that it did not and was not. After long discussion, he concludes that "nothing definite can be asserted about it." The same indecisiveness appears in his appraisal of Orinda's

personality. Like Gosse, he uneasily suspects mawkishness under the austere excess of her tributes to the noble passion of friendship, and consequently he fails to get a clear perspective on the epoch-making social and literary experiment that Orinda was performing. Few women had spoken articulately at all before her, and no woman had dreamed of speaking of her exclusively feminine experience, from the very center of the feminine world. Orinda had a narrow talent, but she had a noble independence in claiming for women the right to a separate existence in the world of literature. In the chapter on Orinda's poetry it is to be regretted that the appraisal of her lyric gift should merely ring the changes on Mr. Saintsbury's "ineffable lost cadence", and should find no other illustrations of it than those Mr. Saintsbury used.

The typography of the book is worthy of the distinguished press which publishes it. The documentation is also all that could be desired, except that the bibliography can be objected to on the grounds of unnecessary elaboration, and a curious inclusion, here and there, of Widener Library call-numbers.

K. C. BALDERSTON

Wellesley College

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*Literary Criticism in the Age of Johnson.* By A. BOSKER. Groningen, The Hague: Wolters, 1930. Pp. x + 294. 5.90 fl. There is need of a fresh survey of this field, and Mr. Bosker, who has read widely and attentively and has by no means confined himself to the obvious, has done much towards supplying the need. He quotes not a few noteworthy passages that are not generally cited and considers in some detail such minor figures as William Cooke, Percival Stockdale, H. J. Pye, James Harris, William Mason, Hugh Blair, Thomas Twining, John Hoole, William Belsham, William Hayley, John Aikin, John Pinkerton. Furthermore, he is looking for the right things: he has chapters on universality, imitation, the *genres*, "Rationalism," "Disbelief in Authority; Influence of Science," "The Growth of the Sense of Historical Relativity," "The Permanent Element in Art; Scientific Criticism," "Textual Criticism." Unfortunately his discussion of these topics is not sufficiently searching and he has failed to make any real synthesis in his own mind of the baffling, contradictory opinions and elements which make his subject so difficult and so fascinating. As a result, he writes on page 3 that the rules "were no longer looked upon as guiding principles for the poet's art but rather as inexorable laws," and on page 19, "the belief in the infallibility of the rules had been greatly shaken, even in the hey-day of neo-classicism." The inadequacy of his understanding of the period is shown in his emphasis on "the cold intellectualism of the Augustan Age" and in his remark (p. vii), "Reason and

correctness . . . had . . . long been considered by the critics as the sole arbiters of literary merit." He seems not sufficiently to realize the difference between what men thought they believed and the creed by which they mainly lived and wrote, and he fails to show how unaware writers often were of the implications of their assertions. These defects would have been avoided, at least in part, if Mr. Bosker had been familiar with the work of such American writers as Lovejoy, Crane, McKillop, P. Kaufman, and R. F. Jones. Of the *Critical* and *Monthly* Reviews, *London, European*, and *Gentleman's Magazines* he has inevitably made but little use—which suggests how much of simple spade work as well as of sensitive, discriminating analysis remains to be done before a really authoritative treatise on eighteenth century criticism can be written. In the meantime, Mr. Bosker's carefully-indexed book will serve as a quarry, a guide, and a suggestive essay for students of romanticism and for all who are engaged in disentangling the confused skein of eighteenth century thought.

R. D. H.

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*Der Nachruhm Herricks und Wallers* (Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, Dreizehnter Band). By NETTY ROECKERATH. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1931. Pp. 116. 9 M. This study is quite inadequate since even the more obvious sources of critical comment are neglected and significant criticisms by many such figures as Pope, "Tremendous" Dennis, and Joseph Warton (comments which often do not fit into the picture presented) are wholly overlooked.

The problems arising from such a study are left untouched. There is no mention that in the criticism of Gildon and Dennis Waller stood as a central figure about whom the battle of ancients *vs.* moderns raged. There is no attempt to connect Herrick with the lyric revival. There is no attempt to show how the early eighteenth century tried to define the unique element in the versification of Waller. The fact that the glory of Waller as "the first refiner of our language" was as often as not attributed to Dryden, is not touched upon. The extent to which Waller's poems were imitated and set to music is not suggested, although music for two of the songs was published in early volumes of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The varying reputation of Waller's divine and secular poems is not dwelt upon, although the eighteenth century carefully distinguished them.

EDWARD NILES HOOKER

Baltimore

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*British Classical Authors*, originally selected by L. HERRIG, revised and edited by MAX FÖRSTER. Braunschweig: George Westermann, 1930. Pp. xx + 810 + 51. This German anthology of British and American authors from Spenser to Shaw has now reached its eightieth anniversary and its hundredth edition. Considerably more than half of it is given to the nineteenth century. Except for including five colored maps and selections from Locke, Shaftesbury, Fielding, Darwin, and Harte it does not differ materially from an American college anthology.

J. Q. WOLF, JR.

Goucher College

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*Anne de Marquets, poétesse religieuse du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Diss., Catholic Univ. of America). Par SOEUR MARY HILARINE SEILER, C. D. P. Washington, D. C.: l'Université Catholique d'Amérique, 1931. Pp. xix + 143. This doctoral dissertation in French is to be commended, in the first place, because on the title page it avoids the expression "doctorat ès philosophie" which was used in a recent similar publication of the Catholic University of America. It deserves credit, secondly, because it is a conscientious and thorough study of a poetess who, though of meagre literary worth, yet represents a little known aspect of Catholic humanism in the sixteenth century. The eight chapters of the work treat the biography and education of Sister Anne, her religious vocation, her relations with Dorat, Ronsard, and especially Claude d'Espence, her *Sonets* and *Pasquins*, which are concisely analysed, and lastly certain similarities between her productions and those of the Pléiade. In spite of the mediocrity of most of the poems discussed, this study is interesting because of the light it throws upon the intellectual life in a Dominican convent (Poissy) during the Renaissance and the extent to which the literary innovations of the period were accepted in this special milieu. The bibliography and index seem to be complete, and bear witness to the painstaking labor of the author. Unfortunately, the proof reading seems to have been much less careful; but too much must not be expected of a text in French printed on this side of the Atlantic.

University of Oregon

CHANDLER B. BEALL

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*Lullabies: an Anthology*. Edited by F. E. BUDD. London: The Scholartis Press, 1930. Pp. viii + 128. 6 s. This pleasant collection consists of 65 cradle songs, ranging in time from the early fourteenth century (the "oldest extant example") to the year 1900, and is preceded by an introductory essay developing the idea that the lullabies are usually expressions of that elegiac feeling, "the taste for melancholy brooding," which, according to the

author, is the least changeable trait of English literature. Though the texts have been carefully edited, the volume offers nothing of especial interest to the scholar, and will make him wish again for the work that we still wholly lack—a careful study of the lullaby in the period when it was living as a form of song, and especially in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Its relations with the nativity-carol, the song of the girl deserted by her lover, and other modes of popular song offer an attractive and useful field of inquiry which some enterprising young scholars should proceed to cultivate.

MORRIS W. CROLL

*Princeton University*

*Representative British Dramas: Victorian and Modern. New Revised Edition.* Edited by MONTROSE J. MOSES. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1931. Pp. xvi + 996. The revised edition of this valuable anthology adds plays by Somerset Maugham, Clemence Dane, Noel Coward, C. K. Munro, and Allan Monkhouse, in place of those by Tennyson, Masefield, and Colum.

*Elizabethan Dramatists Other than Shakespeare.* Edited by E. H. C. OLIPHANT. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1931. Pp. xiii + 1511. \$4.25. A reissue, without the Shakespeare plays, of Professor Oliphant's *Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists*, noticed in this journal for March, 1930.

*Shakespeare's Hamlet: The First Quarto, 1603.* Reproduced in facsimile from the copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. 6 + sigs. [A], B—I\*. \$4.00. Through a collotype reproduction, made with the greatest care by Max Jaffé of Vienna from photostats supplied by the Huntington Library, this important text, only two known copies of which are extant, now becomes available to scholars everywhere.

H. S.

*Thomas Fuller. Selections. With Essays by Charles Lamb, Leslie Stephen, Etc.* With an Introduction by E. K. BROADUS. Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. xvi + 206. With its portrait and facsimile reproductions of the title pages, and its care to reproduce the typography and arrangement of the original volumes, this collection is an excellent effort to 'cream' Fuller for undergraduates. The extracts are representative of his whole work on a scale which assigns forty-five pages to *The Holy* and *The Profane State*, and two pages to *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*.

*University of California*

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

## GERMAN

Balthasar, Hans Urs.—Geschichte des eschatologischen Problems in der modernen deutschen Literatur. Diss. Zürich: 1930. viii, 221 pp.

Barthel, Helene.—Der Emmentaler Bauer bei Jeremias Gotthelf. Diss. Münster: 1931. v, 147 pp.

Bauerhorst, Kurt.—Der Geniebegriff, seine Entwicklung und seine Formen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Goetheschen Standpunktes. Diss. Breslau: 1930. viii, 85 pp.

Baum, Vicki.—Der Weg. Ed. by Erwin T. Mohme. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1931. xi, 100 pp. \$1.10.

Bell, C. H.—Peasant Life in old German Epics. Meier Helmbrecht and Der arme Heinrich translated from the Middle High German. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1931. 184 pp. \$3.00.

Bergmann, A. H. A.—Die Glaubwürdigkeit der Zeugnisse für den Lebensgang und Charakter Chr. Dietrich Grabbes. [Diss. Teildruck.] Leipzig: 1930. 155 pp.

Blankenagel, John C.—The Dramas of Heinrich von Kleist. A Biographical and Critical Study. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1931. xii, 261 pp. \$3.00.

Blömker, Friedr.—Das Verhältnis von Bürgers lyrischer und episches-lyrischer Dichtung zur englischen Literatur. Diss. Münster: 1930. 84 pp.

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Boner, Georgette.—Arthur Schnitzlers Frauengestalten. Diss. Zürich: 1930. 118 pp.

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Brunn, Theodor.—Peter Rosegger. Untersuchungen über seine Erzählungstechnik. Diss. Münster: 1930. 107 pp.

Bürgisser, Hanns.—Johann Peter Hebel als Erzähler. Diss. Teildruck. Zürich: 1929. iv, 55 pp.

Burkhard, Werner.—Christoph von Grimmelshausen. Das Wirklichkeitserlebnis in

seinem Werk und der barocke Mensch. Diss. Zürich: 1929. ii, 57 pp.

Busse, Adolf, and Dexter, Elise.—Aus deutschen Blättern. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1931. xi, 179 pp. \$1.35.

Chotzen, Th. M.—Primitieve Keltistik in de Nederlanden. Openbare les. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931. 58 pp. 1.50 Gld.

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